

PAST



Pioneer America Society Transactions

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PAST



Scott C. Roper, Ph.D., Editor

Department of History, Geography, Economics, and Politics | Castleton State College |
Leavenworth Hall | 6 Alumni Drive | Castleton, VT 05735
scott.roper@castleton.edu | (802) 468-1270

Deborah Slater, Layout Artist | Bridge Communications | debs@bingenheimer.com

PAST consists of papers and abstracts of papers presented at the annual meeting of the Pioneer America Society: Association for the Preservation of Artifacts and Landscapes. Any paper that was presented at the previous year's annual meeting is eligible for publication in this Journal. Manuscripts are not peer-reviewed, and the Editor will make grammatical corrections only. Manuscripts submitted for publication should conform to the Style Guide, which is available at www.castleton.edu/~scr10240/PAST.html. Authors should consult the most recent edition of *PAST* for examples of the preferred editorial style. Manuscripts should be submitted directly to the Editor via email as Word attachments or via conventional mail on disk or CD-ROM as Word documents. Photos and illustrations should be submitted electronically as .jpg files. "On the Road" is an annual collection of photographic essays devoted to topics relating to material culture in the Americas, and the editor will consider submissions from any member of the Pioneer America Society. Address inquiries, including copyright permission, reprints, inquiries about manuscript and "On the Road" submissions, and letters, to the Editor.

The Pioneer America Society, Inc., is a nonprofit organization in accordance with the laws of the State of Ohio. Dues and contributions are tax deductible. Annual dues of the Society, which include a subscription to *Material Culture*, *PAST*, and the Society's electronic newsletter, are \$50 for individuals, \$25 for students, \$75 institutional, and \$450 for life membership. Membership information and dues should be directed to the Secretary-Treasurer. Information is also available online at the Society's web site, www.pioneeramerica.org. Back issues of several volumes of *PAST* are available for \$5.00 each. Please contact Frank Ainsley, University of North Carolina, for more information:

W. Frank Ainsley, Secretary-Treasurer | Pioneer America Society: Association for the Preservation of Artifacts and Landscapes | Department of Earth Science | University of North Carolina-Wilmington | Wilmington, NC 28403-3297 | ainsleyf@uncw.edu

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On the cover: Monocacy, L'Hermitage Plantation, "view from the big house," courtesy Artimus Keiffer.

Table of Contents

Mission Statement iv

Officers and Committees v

Echoes of the Past vi

39th Annual Meeting

Schedule of Events 1

Schedule of Papers Presented 3

Abstracts of Papers Presented 5

Articles

The Warren E. Roberts Virtual Outdoor Museum of Early Indiana Life
John H. McDowell and Trevor J. Blank, Indiana University 17

The Uses of History in Western Maryland: The Little Meadows Historic Site
William M. Hunter, Heberling Associates, Inc..... 27

Preservation Through Recreation: The Dahlgren Railroad Heritage Trail
Dawn S. Bowen, University of Mary Washington 39

On the Road

Folk Architecture for Mass Consumption: A Missouri Example
Keith A. Sculle 49

The Vanishing Apple Farms of Southern New Hampshire
Scott C. Roper and Stephanie Abbot Roper 51

DVD Reviews

A Forest Returns, produced by Jean Andrews and Steve Fetsch

reviewed by Deeksha Nagar..... 55

Book Reviews

White Metropolis: Race, Ethnicity, and Religion in Dallas, 1841-2001, by Michael Phillips

reviewed by John H. Barnhill..... 57

The Encyclopedia of New England, edited by Burt Feintuch and David H. Watters

reviewed by Marshall Joseph Becker 59

Out of the Blue: A Journey through the World's Oceans, by Paul Horseman

reviewed by Alan L. Chan..... 65

Culture in Practice: Selected Essays, by Marshall Sahlins

reviewed by Robert C. Chidester 67

Shot at and Missed: Recollections of a World War II Bombardier, by Jack R. Myers

reviewed by Mark J. Crowley..... 70

Inventing the Cotton Gin: Machine and Myth in Antebellum America, by Angela Lakwete

reviewed by Twyla Dell..... 72

Art of the Ancestors: Antique North American Indian Art, by George Everett Shaw

reviewed by Kelly Denzer..... 74

Common Place: Toward Neighborhood and Regional Design, by Douglas Kelbaugh

reviewed by Steven L. Driever 77

Newcomers to Old Towns: Suburbanization of the Heartland, by Sonya Salamon

reviewed by Steven L. Driever 80

Greenbelt, Maryland: A Living Legacy of the New Deal, by Cathy D. Knepper

reviewed by J. Brooks Flippen 83

The Politics of Fieldwork: Research in an American Concentration Camp, by Lane Ryo Hirabayashi

reviewed by Peter J. Glociczki..... 85

The Myth of José Martí: Conflicting Nationalisms in Early Twentieth-Century Cuba, by Lillian Guerra reviewed by Alejandro Gomez-del-Moral	87
Fort Pillow, A Civil War Massacre and Public Memory, by John Cimprich reviewed by Jennifer Guiliano.....	93
Globalization and Its Enemies, by Daniel Cohen reviewed by Sara Beth Keough	97
Ancient Titicaca: The Evolution of Complex Society in Southern Peru and Northern Bolivia, by Charles Stanish reviewed by Charles Kolb	100
Troweling through Time: The First Century of Mesa Verdean Archaeology, by Florence C. Lister reviewed by Michael A. Lange	102
Sprawl and Suburbia: A Harvard Design Magazine Reader, edited by William S. Sauders reviewed by Kirin J. Makker	105
The Thai House: History and Evolution, by Ruethai Chaichongrak, Somchai Nil-athi, Onsiri Panin, and Saowalak Posayonanda reviewed by Allen G. Noble	108
Santa Fe Hispanic Culture: Preserving Identity in a Tourist Town, by Andrew Leo Lovato reviewed by Steven M. Schnell	110
The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840-1917, by Jon A. Peterson reviewed by Carlos Nunes Silva	113
Mapping and Empire: Soldier-Engineers on the Southwestern Frontier, edited by Dennis Reinharz and Gerald D. Saxon reviewed by Robert Stacy.....	117
Patriotism, Peace, and Vietnam: A Memoir, by Peggy Hanna and The Price of Freedom: Americans at War, by the Smithsonian Institution reviewed by Jenny Thompson	119
Twelve Millennia: Archaeology of the Upper Mississippi River Valley, by James L. Theler and Robert F. Boszhart reviewed by Jeff Wanser	123
The Story of Western Architecture, Third Edition, by Bill Riseboro reviewed by Jeremy White	125
Contributors' Biographies	129

Pioneer America Society: Association for the Preservation of Artifacts and Landscapes

Mission Statement

The Pioneer America Society: Association for the Preservation of Artifacts and Landscapes (PAS:APAL) is a professional and scholarly organization formed to promote dialogue and discourse among its diverse membership. It exists to promote and support the serious study of material culture, in all its forms, and ongoing efforts of documentation and preservation of these artifacts extant in the Americas. The Society is an international, non-profit, educational association supported entirely by membership dues and contributions. Its membership is drawn from various academic disciplines (geography, history, anthropology, folklore), applied professions (architects, lawyers, preservationists, educators), along with informed and interested parties that enjoy the pursuit of interpreting the visual landscape and adding to the list of scholarly research.

The mission of PAS:APAL is an urgent one and has become more so in recent years. With each passing day, the objects that we identify as material artifacts, which is virtually everything created by human conduct and defines us as a culture, are disappearing at an alarming rate. Members of the Society gather annually at an organized conference to present to others their research into the fundamental objects, rituals, and ideals that have shaped the landscapes of the Americas. Sharing their research with a larger audience allows understanding and appreciation of such phenomena which can then be supported by the membership body. The knowledge of the past gives us insight into where we are today, and can provide some direction for future endeavors.

Publication of the Society's peer-reviewed, scholarly journal *Material Culture* and conference proceedings in *Pioneer America Society Transactions* documents and disseminates this research and these findings to an international audience. This, in turn, allows others to fully appreciate that which they see on a daily basis. Thus, the mission of the Society is carried out for future researchers and an appreciation of the things we may consider today to be mundane. As they become oddities in the future, there will be a body of literature to give the proper context of such subjects from a contemporary viewpoint. As members, we hold this mission in high regard, and focus our expertise and energy to make sure that which defines us now is interpreted in the proper vein by successive layers of interested researchers.

Pioneer America Society: Association for the Preservation of Artifacts and Landscapes

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Echoes of the Past

Pioneer America Society Transactions, or *PAST*, first appeared in 1978 as a record of the Pioneer America Society's annual meeting. It has published numerous papers representing the historical, topical, and geographical subjects covered by PAS members. As such, it serves an important role in the Society by helping to promote the study, documentation, and preservation of all forms of material culture in the Americas.

This issue is no exception. Dawn Bowen's article on the controversial Dahlgren Railroad Heritage Trail endeavor in King George County, Virginia, reveals the historic preservation-related educational benefits that can come from a rails-to-trails project. John McDowell and Trevor Blank's contribution explains the development of the Warren E. Roberts Virtual Outdoor Museum of Early Indiana Life, the attempt to make the life's work of one of the Pioneer America Society's most storied members a reality, at least in the cyber world. Meanwhile, William Hunter's work on the Little Meadows Historic Site in Garrett County, Maryland, serves as an excellent example of applied landscape studies: how people influence the development of transportation corridors through the representation of landscape and "politics of scale." Taken together, these three articles only begin to suggest the diverse interests and fascinating research agendas of our members.

And, as has been the policy over the last few issues, this volume of *PAST* includes about 25 reviews of books that might be of interest to PAS members.

This volume also introduces a new feature, "On the Road," made up of photographs and brief descriptions of artifacts and landscapes identified by Pioneer America Society members as having a particular significance. Photographs in this section do not have to relate directly to research presented at the annual PAS:APAL meeting, but should at least reflect the Society's mission. In the future, I hope that other readers will consider submitting their own photographs and reflections of cultural artifacts and landscapes, both in and relating to the Americas.

Finally, I wish to conclude with a plea to members who present papers at the annual Pioneer America Society meeting: please consider submitting your papers to *PAST*. Admittedly, *PAST* is not a peer-reviewed publication. However, as a record of the Society's annual meeting, it provides a publication outlet for research that is vital to professionals and scholars whose interests lie in the area of material culture. Only through the willingness of our members to contribute to *PAST* can this journal's continued success be assured.

Scott Roper
Editor

39th Annual Conference

**Four Points Sheraton Inn, Hagerstown, Maryland,
October 10 – 13, 2007**

Schedule of Events

Wednesday, October 10

5:00-7:00 PM	Board of Directors Meeting
7:00-9:00 PM	Opening Reception

Thursday, October 11

Field Trip #1

8:30 AM-5:00 PM	Wilson's Bridge, National Road C&O Canal Harper's Ferry B&O Roadhouse Eisenhower National Defense System/I-70
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Friday, October 12

Paper Sessions

8:30-9:15 AM	Opening/Plenary
9:15-10:00 AM	Keynote Speaker, Warren R. Hofstra, "Myth, Memory and Meaning: the Vernacular Landscape of the Shenandoah Valley"
10:00-10:30 AM	Break
10:30AM-Noon	Papers/Presentations, Session 1

Noon-1:30 PM Luncheon and Annual Business Meeting

1:30-3:00 PM **Papers/Presentations, Session 2**

3:00-3:15 PM Break

3:15-5:00 PM **Papers/Presentations, Session 3**

Friday, October 12

Awards Banquet

6:00-7:00 PM Old South Mountain Inn – Cash Bar

7:00-9:30 PM Old South Mountain Inn – Annual Awards
Banquet

Saturday, October 13

Field Trip #2

8:30 AM-5:00 PM Antietam National Battlefield

Sunday, October 14

Optional Caravan Tour

9:00 AM-1:00 PM Historic Landscapes and Cultural Resources on
Monocacy, National Battlefield

39th Annual Conference

**Four Points Sheraton Inn, Hagerstown, Maryland,
October 10 – 13, 2007**

Schedule Papers Presented

Plenary Session (9:15-10:00 AM)

Warren Hofstra, “Myth, Memory and Meaning: the Vernacular Landscape of the Shenandoah Valley”

Session 1 (10:30 AM-noon)

Track 1

Lisa Mroszczyk, Mark Shara, and Keven Walker, “Mid-Maryland Barns: Identifying, Measuring, Restoring”

Track 2

Ann Smart Martin, “Global Trade and Central Place: Scottish Clocks and Iron Plates in Backcountry Virginia”

Elizabeth Davis, “Modern Innovations in Spinning Wheel Technology, Being a Brief Overview of the Glorious History of Spinning Tools and Techniques, with a Special Consideration of the Venus of Lespugue, Leonardo Da Vinci, Revolutionary Acts of Spinning, Hippies, Bicentennial Celebrations, and Hen- Pecked Husbands”

John H. McDowell and Trevor Blank, “The Warren E. Roberts Virtual Pioneers’ Museum of Indiana Folk Life”

Track 3

Thomas Rasmussen, “The Dynamics of Distance and Central Place”

Frank Ainsley, “Dreams of Utopia: Urban Planning in the Rural Countryside”

Wayne Brew, “The Hole in the Map: Letterkenny Army Depot, Historic Preservation and Base Realignment and Closure (BRAC)”

Session 2 (1:30–3:00 PM)*Track 1*

Allen G. Noble, “Consistency and Change in North American Vernacular or Traditional Architecture”

John C. Allen, Jr., “Early Houses of Jefferson County, West Virginia”

Marshall S. McLennan, “The Arched Roof: Stasis and Change in the Landscape of the North American Farm”

Track 2

Kevin Coleman, “House ‘Family Types’: A Suggested Evolutionary Grouping of House Types”

Mike Davis, “Is it a Sears? A Case Study in the Chicken-Sexing of Houses”

Rebecca Sheppard, “Persistence Through Adaptation: The Evolution of Delaware’s Agricultural Landscapes”

Session 3 (3:15–5:30 PM)*Track 1*

Jeffrey Winstel, “Glenview Farm, Plantation to Summer Estate to Civic Center”

Dawn Bowen, “Preservation Through Recreation: The Dalghren Railroad Heritage Trail”

Chris Mayda, “Baltimore’s Historic Little Italy”

Susan Trail, “Contested Landscape of the Dead: The Creation of Antietam National Cemetery”

Amy Drake, “Immortelles, Roses, and Lilies: Flowers at the Funerals of Winnie and Varina Davis

Track 2

Frank Brusca, “Route 40: Sixty Years of Landscape Change”

Joy Beasley, “Proper Entertainment for Horse and Man: The Georgetown Road and Middle Ford Ferry Tavern at Monocacy National Battlefield”

Katie Algeo, “Indian for a Night, Sleeping with the ‘Other’ at Wigwam Village Tourist Cabins”

William Hunter, “The Uses of History in Western Maryland: Geographies of the Little Meadow Historic Site”

39th Annual Conference

**Four Points Sheraton Inn, Hagerstown, Maryland,
October 10 – 13, 2007**

Abstracts of Papers Presented

Dreams of Utopia: Urban Planning in the Rural Countryside

W. Frank Ainsley, University of North Carolina, Wilmington

In the second decade of the 20th century, the Farm-City Corporation of America was formed to promote the development of the ideal settlement combining the urban amenities with the best of rural values. This was an outgrowth of attempts at social engineering to provide attractive and healthy alternatives to the ills of the late-nineteenth century urban centers. Such “back-to-the-land” experiments included Ebenezer Howard’s “Garden Cities,” various farm-village colonies, and railroad suburban communities. Early leaders of the farm-city movement were Elwood Mead, John Nolan, and Hugh MacRae.

MacRae had developed five farm-village settlements in southeastern North Carolina between 1905 and 1908. In 1912, MacRae joined forces with the Dutch poet Frederik Van Eeden to develop Van Eeden, a “Co-operative Colony” in Pender County that Van Eeden had visualized as a Utopia in America. This settlement survived only a few years, but when the Farm-City Corporation was created, MacRae and Nolen pooled resources to develop what was to be named “Farm-City, USA,” using the old Van Eeden tract and another MacRae-owned tract of 9,443 acres. In 1921 Nolen planned and mapped the extensive new settlement. Though this plan did not materialize, it was resurrected by MacRae in 1934 as the germination of the first planned community under the Farm Security Administration’s Resettlement Program. Penderlea Homesteads, as it was named, was platted out utilizing the basics of Nolen’s 1922 Farm-City map and plan.

This paper examines the evolutionary landscape changes and vernacular building patterns of the Penderlea settlement.

Indian for a Night: Sleeping with the “Other” at Wigwam Village Tourist Cabins

Katie Algeo, Western Kentucky University

Frank Redford of Horse Cave, Kentucky, started his chain of Wigwam Village tourist cabins in 1931, an enterprise that eventually expanded to six

locations stretching from Florida to California. With individual cabins in the shape of tepees, Wigwam Village capitalized on the appeal of kitschy roadside attractions and on Americans' fascination with Native Americans. In the waxing days of automobile travel by the masses, each Village also served as a practical agglomeration of tourist services—in addition to accommodations, each offered a gas station, restaurant, and gift shop. This paper explores themes related to the appropriation and commercialization of Native American culture represented by this tourism enterprise, including the geographically displaced authenticity of a dwelling style indigenous to the Great Plains, the social construction of a pan-Indian identity through souvenirs that reflect generic “Indian-ness” rather than specific tribal cultures, and the surprisingly enduring appeal of this decidedly not politically correct landscape.

Early Houses of Jefferson County, West Virginia

John C. Allen, Jr., Jefferson County Landmarks Commission

Over the past four years I have measured and photographed over 100 early buildings in Jefferson County, West Virginia. This documentary information will form the basis of the book I am writing entitled, *Uncommon Vernacular: the Early Houses of Jefferson County, West Virginia*. The book will feature all residential structures pre-dating 1835 in the county's 210 square mile area. This presentation covers the findings of my survey work, specifically information on Jefferson County's early house types, plans, materials and detailing.

“Proper Entertainment for Horse and Man”: The Georgetown Road and Middle Ford Ferry Tavern at Monocacy National Battlefield

Joy Beasley, Monocacy National Battlefield

During the 2004 field season, archeologists used a combination of oral traditions, historic research, and traditional field methods to locate a mid-eighteenth-century tavern, which was associated with the Middle Ford Ferry. Middle Ford Ferry was constructed in the late 1740s to carry travelers on the Georgetown Road over the Monocacy River; its associated tavern is the earliest known historic site at Monocacy National Battlefield. When first established, the Middle Ford Ferry and Tavern were at the very edge of the western frontier, in an area known to colonial settlers as “the Barrens.” After the French and Indian War, however, Frederick emerged as an important industrial and commercial center, eventually becoming Maryland's second-largest city and the gateway to the West. The Middle Ford Ferry and Tavern remained active throughout this period of growth

until they were abandoned around 1830, when a covered wooden bridge replaced the ferry. Archeological and historic research undertaken at the tavern site in 2004 and 2006 provide a rare glimpse of a rural tavern, and also provide insight into the growth of transportation and commerce in the Potomac River backcountry.

Preservation through Recreation: The Dahlgren Railroad Heritage Trail

Dawn S. Bowen, University of Mary Washington

The Dahlgren Railroad Heritage Trail is a controversial rails-to-trails conversion project on an abandoned former military railroad in King George County, Virginia. A dedicated group of individuals, the Friends of DRHT, has made remarkable progress in the last eighteen months clearing the land, creating a trail head, marshalling support from county residents, and educating those who are opposed to trail development. While the greatest gains from development of the trail are enhanced recreational opportunities, an often unconsidered benefit from trail establishment is the chance to preserve history—not only the railroad line itself, but historic events associated with the community through which the rail line was built. Although there is much to be said about the history of the railroad, the organization of trail supporters and the opposition which the group has faced, the primary focus of this paper is the development of the trail as a tool of historic preservation. There are numerous opportunities along the trail route for historic markers that will introduce hikers and bikers to the history of the railroad and the significant technological developments that occurred at the Naval Surface Warfare Center at Dahlgren.

The Hole in the Map: Letterkenny Army Depot, Historic Preservation, and Base Realignment and Closure (BRAC)

Wayne Brew, Montgomery County Community College

Letterkenny Army Depot (LEAD) is located in south-central Pennsylvania in Franklin County, five miles north of the Borough of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. LEAD was established in January 1942 as an ammunition storage facility. Prior to the establishment of LEAD, the area consisted of agricultural and forest lands. The area was predominantly single-family farms used for both subsistence and commercial purposes. The Depot covers a large area (19,243 acres), most of which is devoted to ammunition storage (16,614 acres) and industrial areas (approximately 2,500 acres). This large area puts a “hole” in many road maps that do not show the road network in the Ammo Storage Area. In 1995, the industrial area of LEAD was chosen to be partially closed down under the Base Realignment and Closure

(BRAC) Act. This presentation will cover historic preservation and reuse issues associated with the BRAC closure. There are several older homes (both stone and log) and barns (brick and wood) associated with the agricultural use prior to establishment of the base that will be discussed. There are also re-use issues associated with brick warehouses and an interesting bell tower that was constructed by Italian prisoners of war.

House “Type Families”: A Suggested Evolutionary Grouping of House Types

Kevin Coleman, Intrepid Historical Services

Houses are classified into House Types generally based on a combination of floor plan and story height. I suggest that those types can then be grouped, like biological species, into families, based on their basic form and how similar types are related. Though not as easily sequestered as biological species, house types can be classified into larger groups to lend more clarity to their origins, similarities and differences, and interrelationships. My suggested “Type Families” are: Elemental (the basic building block, a single unit/room, such as the Hall House); Parallel (“Single-pile,” one room deep and with mass parallel to the front—mainly I-Houses); Perpendicular (one room wide, but extending away, perpendicular from the front—such as the Shotgun Cottage); “Reductive” (rooms conform to a simple and unique form, such as the Continental type); Composite (forms are seemingly combined from other types; this includes the Upright and Wing and Crossplan); Additive (“Double-pile,” rooms added [or subtracted] in hierarchies—the Four-Over-Four and New England Plan); Massed (rooms are massed in a cubic or unique form in a modern arrangement, such as Foursquare and “Semi-Bungalow”); and “Modern” (using the “divided plan” of contemporary living, including the Bungalow and Ranch types).

Modern Innovations in Spinning Wheel Technology: Being a Brief Overview of the Glorious History of Spinning Tools and Techniques, with a Special Consideration of the Venus of Lespugue, Leonardo Da Vinci, Revolutionary Acts of Spinning, Hippies, Bicentennial Celebrations, and Hen-Pecked Husbands

Elizabeth Davis, Springwater Fiber Workshop

Spinning has been an economically important skill since prehistoric times. Spinning tools, then and now, must add twist to fibers, and control twist in the thread or yarn. The earliest tools were the spin stick, the supported spindle, and the drop spindle; these are still used to create fine fabrics. The spindle wheel or spinning wheels was introduced to Europe

in the thirteenth century; it improved efficiency, but not quality. The treadle and flyer were introduced in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but not universally adopted. The Spinning Jenny was invented in the eighteenth century; spinning started to change from a home or cottage industry to a factory industry. During the nineteenth century, inventive fervor was focused on machine spinning; hand-spinning became a peripheral economic skill as cheap machine-made cloth became widely available. The early 1970s saw a resurgence of interest in hand-crafts, leading to the next major wave of innovations in hand-spinning. Since that time, there have been successive bursts of innovation, improving efficiency, speed, and portability.

Is It A Sears? A Case Study in the Chicken-Sexing of Houses

Mike Davis, Eastern Michigan University

Early 20th-century houses now are attracting more attention from preservationists. Modest stick-built houses in existing or proposed historic districts often are identified as “Sears houses,” if for no other reason than widespread recognition of the brand name. But they might instead be products of other major catalogue house vendors—Montgomery Ward, Aladdin, Lewis, Sterling or Gordon-Van Tine. A recent query to the presenter (co-author of a landmark 1990 book on the subject of catalogue houses and early 20th-century residential architecture: *America’s Favorite Homes* [Detroit: Wayne State University Press]) offers a case study in how to search for the origin of a “house by mail.” The major clue is the footprint: its dimensions and shape. Additional pointers include floor plan, porches, window fenestration and board markings.

Imortelles, Roses, and Lilies: Flowers at the Funerals of Winnie and Varina Davis

Amy Drake, Grinnell University

Flowers at the funerals of Winnie and Varina Davis, Daughter and First Lady of the Confederacy, represented how women mourned these feminine symbols of the Lost Cause. The establishment of Winnie and Varina as Civil War heroines contributed to the creation of a feminized version of the Lost Cause culture prevalent across the South from 1880–1920. The “language of flowers,” a feminized aspect of material culture, allowed women to recognize and celebrate their own role in the Civil War.

Each type of flower in American Victorian material culture symbolized its own meaning, and the content of floral arrangements at funerals depended on the message the giver wished to convey. They simultaneously decorated and assigned personality characteristics through the “language

of flowers” to the deceased, providing both beauty and symbolism to the audience.

Flowers displayed at the funerals of Winnie and Varina Davis, Daughter and First Lady of the Confederacy, created an idealized image of each woman as perfect Confederate women. At Winnie’s funeral on September 23, 1898, she received red, white, and yellow roses; lilies; carnations; asters; orchids; ivy; bay leaves; palms; and immortelles that enhanced the image of Winnie as pure, innocent, immortal in memory, and devoted to the Confederacy. Mourners at Varina’s funeral on October 19, 1906 donated lilies, orchids, chrysanthemums, and ferns along with red and white roses. These arrangements symbolized Varina as beautiful, virtuous, cheerful under adversity, and devoted to the Confederacy. Thus the “language of flowers” contributed to a feminized version of Lost Cause commemoration.

The Uses of History in Western Maryland: Geographies of the Little Meadows Historic Site

William M. Hunter, Heberling Associates

Cultural resources, including broad landscapes and expansive heritage areas, are often a major constraint on the development of federally funded projects and are a touchstone for discourses ranging from heritage tourism to environmental streamlining. Informed by the recent work of historical, economic and environmental geographers, we examine how interested actors use landscape representations, a politics of scale, and imagined geographies to influence the development of a major/new highway in western Maryland.

The Little Meadows Historic Site is significant for its many historical associations: as a node in the contact-era trade network; as a staging area for Edward Braddock’s doomed march to Fort Duquesne; as a tavern and post office on the National Road; and for the architecture of its buildings, including the stone Tomlinson Inn. Little Meadows has also been the site of extensive strip mining, repeated timbering, residential and commercial development, and bisection by a modern interstate highway. In spite of the material condition of the landscape, federal agencies and environmental decision-makers have committed to avoiding, minimizing or mitigating project effects on what amounts to an imagined geography, demonstrating the power of place-perception and the geographic imagination to shape material geographies, and to affect the many properties not afforded such special consideration in the environmental process.

We draw on environmental assessments, planning documents, historic resources survey reports, public involvement activities, and field data to examine the Little Meadows Historic Site in Garrett County, Maryland, discuss the production of landscape there, examine the way in which the

representations of the landscape have affected the development of highway corridors over time, and illustrate the importance of solidly informed historical geography to large-scale project development.

Global Trade and Local Place: Scottish Clocks and Iron Plates in Backcountry Virginia

Ann Smart Martin, University of Wisconsin-Madison

This paper investigates the world of goods and retail trade in the Virginia backcountry in the half-century surrounding the nation's founding. By focusing on the mercantile world of a rural community, it recasts large abstract social and economic systems into intimate triangulations between merchants, customers and objects. By examining the acquisition of a vast array of consumer goods, it breaks down customary boundaries between enslaved and white, rich and poor, or male and female. Even the most disfranchised were part of the human drama of consumer desire in the movement toward any Anglo-Virginian ideal of a "civilized life."

This global trade intersects a mid-Atlantic agricultural landscape where two great migratory flows at the end of the colonial period crossed. European settlers moved southward from Pennsylvania via the Great Valley and British inched westward from the edge of the more densely settled Virginia tidewater and both groups carried enslaved African Americans. This story creates an intimacy of place, people and things, a sensory world of local and imported objects—Scottish clocks and iron plates—all a part of "buying into" the world of goods.

Baltimore's Historic Little Italy

Chris Mayda, Eastern Michigan University

In 2000 I visited Baltimore for the first time, and while there learned about a unique adventure in ethnic neighborhoods. Beginning in 1849 Little Italy had been the home to thousands of Italian immigrants, but by 2000 the neighborhood had become run down, the population was aging, and had declined 25 percent since the last census. Little Italy was effectively limited to a tourist area featuring restaurants and shops. Baltimore had undergone changes as well, losing one-third its population since 1950 before revitalizing areas of the city including Fells Point next to Little Italy. Changes were afoot and in 2000 a rebirth of Little Italy was on the cusp. The challenge was if Little Italy could attract past Italian-American occupants to return to the historic row house neighborhood. This presentation will examine the demographic and housing changes within Little Italy since 2000, and the success of bringing people home.

The Warren E. Roberts Virtual Pioneer Museum of Indiana Folklife

John H. McDowell and Trevor J. Blank, Indiana University

This presentation puts on display the web site recently crafted at Indiana University to feature the folklife research of Warren Roberts and his students, and to fulfill Professor Roberts' dream (albeit in virtual form) of constructing an outdoor museum to exhibit the architecture and other folklife aspects of south-central Indiana. We hope to describe both the process of creating the web site and the materials we have chosen to exhibit there.

Warren Roberts obtained in 1953 the first doctorate in folklore to be awarded in the United States, studying folk narrative under the supervision of Stith Thompson, founder of the Folklore Institute at Indiana University. In 1957 Professor Roberts traveled to Norway on a Fulbright fellowship, and he returned to the states more a scholar of material than verbal culture. During a distinguished career at Indiana University, Professor Roberts made major contributions to scholarship on folk architecture, furniture, tools, and American folklife, and communicated to generations of students his passion for this field of study.

Inspired by the outdoor museums of Scandinavia, Professor Roberts worked for over two decades towards the creation of an outdoor, open-air museum in Indiana that was to reflect the state's "old traditional way of life." Working closely with his students, he oversaw the purchasing of barns, log homes, buggies, covered bridges, and tools, and drew up plans for their inclusion in an outdoor museum that was to be located in Bloomington, Indiana. Despite this promising start, the museum project fell through and never materialized.

Through generous support from Indiana University's New Frontiers in the Arts and Humanities, the Folklore Archives steering committee has been able to produce a digital exhibition, attempting to realize, as a virtual display, the vision of Professor Roberts. The Pioneer Museum of Indiana Folklife web site (<http://www.indiana.edu/~wer>) provides biographical information on Professor Roberts's extraordinary career, selections from field journals kept by his former students, numerous photographs from Professor Roberts' personal fieldwork collection, and a live map—set to Professor Roberts' original design for the open-air museum—that connects the viewer with samples drawn from the major components of the Warren E. Roberts Collection in the Folklore Archives.

Our presentation will highlight the strategies and choices that guided us in constructing the web site, and the contribution we hope to have made to the field of study that captivated Professor Roberts, the old traditional way of life in this swath of the American Midwest.

The Arched Roof: Stasis and Change in the Landscape of the North-American Farm

Marshall Seaton McLennan, Eastern Michigan University

The earliest use of the arched-roof in barn construction reportedly occurred in Michigan during the 1880s. Subsequently “Gothic barns” enjoyed a national vogue during the first three decades of the 20th century. With new developments in farm mechanization and construction technology, North-American farmers embraced use of gable-roofed pole barns after World War II. Nevertheless, an alternative to the pole barn was provided by the morphologically distinct “roof barn,” which reduced construction costs by eliminating walls and setting an arched roof directly on the barn foundation.

Experimentation in Manitoba during the 1970s fostered the emergence of a new type of arched agricultural structure called the “hoop shelter.” University extension services throughout the United States subsequently experimented with and become advocates of the form. A hoop shelter is composed of an arched metal frame, secured to ground posts and side walls about four to six feet above ground level, and covered with a translucent polyethylene tarp. Use and scale varies from dairy or hay barn to individual hog hutch. The largest manufacturer is Cover-All Building Systems, located outside Saskatoon, Canada. The nursery industry has witnessed a parallel development, with greenhouses being complemented or displaced by unheated, plastic-covered arched structures called “high tunnels.”

Barns of Mid-Maryland: Identifying, Measuring, Restoring

Lisa J. Mroszczyk, Columbia University

Mark Schara, HABS

Keven Walker, Antietam National Battlefield

The mid-Maryland counties of Carroll, Frederick, and Washington are notable for the rural charm of their bucolic landscapes, a setting visually appealing and, to some today, somewhat nostalgic. It is also agriculturally productive land. The fertile soils of the mid-Maryland region supported farming endeavors while the proximity to markets made an agricultural livelihood economically viable from the eighteenth century and well into the 20th even as dairy supplanted grain in importance. The material expression of this long-standing tradition is the barn, and in mid-Maryland these structures are predominantly large in scale and often banked, a building form identified with Germanic practices. In this session, recent Columbia University graduate Lisa J. Mroszczyk will present the results of a study of mid-Maryland barns she conducted with the intention of developing a typology of barns as they appear in the region. Complementing Mroszczyk’s

investigation of the barn form will be a presentation by the Senior Architect for the Historic American Buildings Survey, Mark Schara, of the work HABS has done in the region measuring and recording a sampling of barns and outbuildings. The documentation produced by Schara is the preservation standard and ultimately is held by the Library of Congress and available for reference. Finally, Keven Walker, who is the Cultural Resource Specialist for Antietam National Battlefield, will address the process of restoring the historic structures identified by Mroszczyk and measured by Schara for HABS. Each will talk for 20 minutes and the talks will be illustrated.

Constancy and Change and North American Vernacular or Traditional Architecture

Allen G. Noble, University of Akron

Change and constancy are two fundamental qualities of traditional building. Constancy permits the scholar to identify the evolution of types and characteristics, even in quite widely separated locations. It helps trace the origins of structures, despite later modifications. Change, on the other hand, allows one to trace the effects of differences in environment, fashion, cultural ideas, and economic influences. Change and constancy operate together, although one or the other may dominate at a particular time and place.

The Dynamics of Distance and Central Place

Thomas H. Rasmussen, Alfred University

The greater the resources and time required to get from home to central place, the less likely a potential traveler is to make the journey. Early settlers traveled four hard miles to the nearest village to use blacksmith and doctor, trade for supplies at the general store, and attend church and school. By the mid-nineteenth century, canals and railroads dramatically reduced transportation costs. Farmers could sell fluid milk and grain in distant cities and spend their income at bakery, billiard parlor and department store in large regional villages.

Why do people bear the costs of traveling to central places? Central places support the specialized activities of workers like blacksmiths and brain surgeons. Central places also facilitate economies of scale, allowing people to produce large quantities of goods and services at low per unit cost.

Since the 1920s, rural automobile drivers travel to large cities to enjoy operas and professional baseball games and to purchase furniture and appliances at large retail stores. After World War II, automobile and truck

eclipsed railroad. How are the dynamics of transportation costs and centralization playing out today? Suburbanization, gentrification, and the spread of Wal-Mart in the countryside offer clues.

Persistence Through Adaptation: The Evolution of Delaware's Agricultural Landscapes, 1780-2000

Rebecca J. Sheppard, Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware

This paper is drawn from my dissertation, which explores the ways that external forces and individual decisions shaped the agricultural landscape of Delaware, providing a more comprehensive context for interpreting the everyday agricultural landscapes being lost in astonishing numbers. Most farmsteads contain elements from multiple periods and contexts of agriculture, providing evidence of the continuing evolution of that landscape in response to a variety of pressures and forces. With each shift, different elements of the landscape appeared or vanished. This paper argues that we can learn much about how the practice and products of agriculture in Delaware evolved over the past two centuries from the evidence that survives in its landscape. Recursive relationships between people, land, and markets drove changes to the built environment. The landscape materializes relationships of farmers and laborers and shows us how families coped with changes in the economy and the market in ways that reflect regional geographic factors such as soil quality, topography, and access to markets. Finally, the objects in those landscapes document the range of choices farm families confronted and the ways in which they altered their environments, while allowing us to gauge the extent of change and persistence in farming over time.

Contested Landscape of the Dead: The Creation of Antietam National Cemetery

Susan W. Trail, Monocacy National Battlefield

The bloody Battle of Antietam, fought on September 17, 1862, left large numbers of dead and mortally wounded on the fields surrounding the western Maryland village of Sharpsburg. Many of the soldiers killed during the engagement were interred in hastily dug graves on the battlefield, while those who later died from their wounds lay in scattered graveyards across the countryside. Wartime political leaders in Maryland took note of neighboring Pennsylvania's establishment of a national cemetery to honor the Federal soldiers that fell during the Battle of Gettysburg and moved to emulate it at Antietam. Unlike the famous dedication of Gettysburg National Cemetery, which had served to uplift and unify the North, the

creation of a burial ground in Sharpsburg was fraught with controversy from the beginning and reflected Maryland's conflicted role as a slave-holding border state that remained in the Union, providing substantial numbers of soldiers to both sides of the conflict. As an example, while Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address is etched deeply in American historical memory, President Andrew Johnson's conciliatory dedication speech at Antietam ended in jeers and was condemned in the northern press. This presentation looks at how the deep political divisions in Maryland, and the country as a whole, shaped the contest over the meaning of Antietam National Cemetery, and how this conflict became reflected in and shaped the landscape we visit today.

Glenview Farm: Plantation to Summer Estate to Civic Center

Jeffrey Winstel, AICP, Community Planning and Development Services, City of Rockville, MD

The Glenview Farm is a 65-acre complex centered on an imposing, pillared Neo-Classical Revival mansion located on an elevated ridge. This 1926 structure incorporates the remnants of an 1838 house, part of a plantation owned by Hon. Richard Johns Bowie, who served in the Maryland State Legislature and Judiciary and the US Congress. The stone house was expanded and rebuilt to its present five-part classical composition by the socially prominent Irene and J. Alexander Lyon family of Washington, DC.

The mansion's Neo-Classical architecture is an expression of American cultural identity as reflected in colonial era architecture, built on a grander scale to accommodate the standards of gracious living and reflect the social and economic status for the American elite during the 1920s. The landscaped grounds and gardens are an expression of the rustic juxtaposed with the formal. The groupings of trees by species around the open lawn create a naturalistic effect popular in the early 20th century, while the terracing and geometric parterres reflect the Colonial era's need to impose order on the frontier wilderness.

The current use of the property as a municipal civic center must accommodate a variety of recreational and cultural activities. Balancing these needs with preservation concerns is challenging, but also creates opportunities for more research and greater interpretation of this layered cultural landscape.

The Warren E. Roberts Virtual Outdoor Museum of Early Indiana Life

John H. McDowell and Trevor J. Blank, Indiana University

Introduction

Ours is a tale of poetic justice and perhaps a redeeming instance of righted wrong; at least, so we hope. We tell of the brilliant plan of an inspired mentor and the valiant efforts of his many disciples, all geared toward a noble cause that fate would not permit to materialize. We report in this paper on the project, now nearing completion, to create the Warren E. Roberts Virtual Outdoor Museum of Early Indiana Life by recreating, in virtual form, the outdoor museum that Professor Roberts of Indiana University envisioned and for which he fought passionately. Granted, a digital display is not the same as a physical facility, and scrolling is hardly the same as strolling. But then again, the medium of digital display offers possibilities for interlinking resources that cannot be accomplished as efficiently in the physical world.

The Outdoor Museum Project

Warren E. Roberts came out of Norway, Maine, received his bachelor's degree from Reed College in Oregon, and traveled to Indiana to study the international folktale. In 1953, he obtained the first doctorate in folklore to be awarded in the United States, studying folk narrative under the supervision of Stith Thompson, founder of the Folklore Institute at Indiana University. Fatefully, Roberts traveled in 1957 to Norway on a Fulbright fellowship, and he returned to the United States more a scholar of material than verbal culture. During a distinguished career at Indiana, Professor Roberts made major contributions to scholarship on material folk culture and communicated to generations of students his passion for this field of study. Roberts became a renowned folklife scholar and he was a long-time contributor to the Pioneer America Society (figure 1), serving on the



Figure 1. This photo, taken by barn expert H. Wayne Price in 1993 and made available to us by Cathy A. Wilson, shows Professor Roberts (second from right) in the West Bloomfield Cemetery, West Bloomfield, New York during the 1993 Pittsford, New York conference. Left to Right: W. Frank Ainsley (PAS Secretary-Treasurer), Cathy A. Wilson, Barbara Roberts, Henry Glassie, Warren E. Roberts, and Michael Roark (a past Executive Director from Missouri).

Board of Directors, publishing several articles in its organs, and receiving its Henry H. Douglas Distinguished Service Award in 1991.

During his stint as a Fulbright Fellow in Norway, Professor Roberts encountered the open-air outdoor museums of Scandinavia and was forever changed. As he later wrote in *Viewpoints on Folklife*: “It is no exaggeration to say that I went to Norway a folktale scholar but that I returned to the United States as a folklife researcher” (Roberts 1988, 2). Inspired by these museums and the reverence for the vernacular forms of material culture in Scandinavia, Professor Roberts made it his goal to create an open-air museum in Indiana that was to reflect, to use his own preferred terminology, the state’s “old traditional way of life.” Working closely with multiple cohorts of students over a period of more than two decades, he oversaw the purchasing of barns and log homes, and drew up plans for their inclusion in an outdoor museum that was to be located in Bloomington, Indiana.

With the able assistance of many students, Roberts devoted himself to locating, acquiring, and transporting to Bloomington, often log-by-log and plank-by-plank, the items of folk architecture that would populate the outdoor museum. Under Roberts’s supervision, the crew of student

helpers labeled each individual brick, log, and stone with markings to allow for correct reassembly of the structure in its intended site. In the key period, the 1970s and 1980s, Roberts initiated numerous acquisitions across southern Indiana—a family barn from Bowling Green; a log home from Martinsville; chairs made by the regionally-acclaimed Turpin family; “old-tyme” buggies donated to the project; a hearth from Monroe County; log-cutting tools and handicrafts from Jasper, Ferdinand, and Tell City; and covered bridges from Bean Blossom and Nashville, among other items. In 1974, the project reached its furthest advance; with the enthusiastic support of legendary Indiana University president Herman B. Wells, a plot of land was purchased near the main campus to house the projected outdoor museum.

Funding was a constant uncertainty in this endeavor, and sadly the funds to drive the project to completion never materialized; by the mid-1980s, it became clear that the museum would not be constructed. Despite this crushing demise of dreams and plans, many positives came out of the quest, most notably, the opportunity for dozens of students to learn, through practical experience, about the methods and materials of vernacular architecture from an inspired teacher. According to Henry Glassie, Roberts believed that he spent “the most productive years of his life dismantling old buildings, working toward the creation of a folk museum for Indiana” (Glassie 1992, 46).

Roberts was drawn in particular to Dubois County in southern Indiana, with its German-American heritage, and he sought to discover how the vernacular architecture of this region would compare to other, better-documented traditions. During the summers of the 1970s and 1980s, he organized a fieldwork class that traveled to Dubois County. These classes have since become legendary among Indiana students, who would travel with their professor and reside in the area for two or three weeks, making excursions along a well-marked route that would lead them to folk artists and artisans in numerous media and genres. Students were able to locate and document a variety of well-preserved man-made structures as well as a plethora of arts and crafts including gravestones, broom-making, and turtle-soup recipe contests. From these appointed rounds, students would make their own connections, taking them deep into the expressive culture and folklife traditions of this distinctive population.

The most remarkable residue of these summer sessions are the field journals that students were obliged to keep, most of which are currently in the collections of Indiana University’s Folklore Archives. Even a brief inspection of these journals indicates that Roberts held students to high standards, standards that students, in turn, clearly aspired to meet. The journals are replete with detailed notes on the people encountered, their expressive culture, and the process of documenting folklife in the field. There are descriptions of hog butchering (and a recipe for dandelion wine to keep

the workers warm), drawings of building plans, transcriptions of verbal and musical performances: in short, a treasure trove of southern Indiana rural life as it persisted into the later decades of the twentieth century. These excursions set more than a few of Roberts's students on their pathways to theses and dissertations, and sparked a number of distinguished careers in material culture studies.

Throughout the drawn-out process of working towards the outdoor museum, Roberts kept extensive records of project activities, notes, diagrams, and slides that served as a key resource for his important book, *Log Buildings of Southern Indiana*, published in the Indiana University student outlet Trickster Press in 1984. These documents, along with the entire store of his professional papers, were graciously donated to the university's Folklore Archives by his wife, Barbara Roberts, who was, in the event, a faithful companion and partner in her husband's intellectual life.

Indiana University's Folklore Archives

The host of the Roberts Collection and of the Warren E. Roberts website and virtual museum is Indiana University's Folklore Archives, so some background on this institution is required. The Folklore Archives is today an integral unit within the Indiana University Archives. It is an extensive holding of documents and collections, mostly in paper formats (but with supporting multimedia materials), centered on traditional forms of artistic expression and traditional belief systems, worldwide in scope but with a primary emphasis on the American Middle West and specifically the state of Indiana. These holdings bear an intimate relationship to Indiana University, featuring field collections by generations of Indiana University graduate and undergraduate students. Holdings date back as far as the late 1940s, but the archive's collections are strongest from the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s.

The major components of the Indiana University Folklore Archives are its vast Student Papers Collection, comprising over 10,000 student papers spanning the second half of the twentieth century and now extending into the first decade of the twenty-first, and the Professional Papers Collection, featuring the papers of more than twenty prominent folklorists whose academic careers intersected with Indiana University, either as students or professors. The Warren E. Roberts Collection is one of the valuable collections in the Professional Papers group. In addition, there are Special Collections representing the works of advanced students and scholars, such as the Joseph T. Hall Limerick Collection, the Roger Mitchell Collection of Micronesian folktales, and quite a few others.

The Folklore Archives has an active coordinating committee, whose core members are Phil Bantin, University Archivist; Inta Carpenter, who runs Special Projects in the Folklore Institute; John McDowell, Professor of

Folklore; and Moira Smith, Folklore Reference Librarian. It is this group that has undertaken the project of creating the virtual outdoor museum. We have been well served by a number of able graduate students, among them Trevor Blank, co-author of this article. Our top priority is to make the Folklore Archives a site of active research, and we came to view the Warren Roberts Collection as an excellent candidate for a pilot project to show how archival holdings could be transformed into digital displays that will engage the attention of students and scholars.

Crafting the Virtual Museum

We are creating a unique resource for exploring in close detail the transformation of the rural Indiana landscape during the pivotal decades of the 1970s and 1980s. It was this rural and tradition-informed way of life that attracted Roberts and graduate students under his supervision, and they produced a comprehensive ethnographic record of this region in transition, now (as noted) comprising a major collection in the Folklore Archives. Making use of field journals, audio tapes, photographs and slides, sketches and descriptions of buildings, correspondence, interview transcripts, newspaper clippings, and published and unpublished academic manuscripts, we are bringing to life, albeit in virtual form, the outdoor museum that Roberts and his students envisioned.

The Virtual Outdoor Museum of Early Indiana Life, in its embracing container, the Warren E. Roberts website, draws on plans carefully sketched by Roberts and follows his lead out into the vernacular traditions of south-central Indiana. This region was living at the time the decline and disappearance of what Roberts lovingly termed “the old traditional way of life,” an agrarian, town-based regional ethos marked by largely self-sufficient family farms, small-town society, and the elaboration of a distinctly “Hoosier” lifestyle. Counties such as Dubois, Davies, Orange, Greene, Pike, Crawford, Warrick, Spencer, Perry, Lawrence, and parts of Monroe—the rural core of south-central Indiana—retained a niche as relatively provincial and agrarian components of a regional system. It is noteworthy that throughout this core area, the great majority of structures surveyed by Roberts and his students have since disappeared, and it is uncertain how much remains of the community life they observed.

We are making use of support from Indiana University in the form of a grant from New Frontiers in the Arts and Humanities to create a website that will construct the outdoor museum Roberts had hoped for as a virtual museum which will serve as a point of entry to the entire body of detailed ethnographic material in the Roberts Collection. Working together as a steering committee, the Folklore Archives team has brought into the project the necessary expertise to devise an initial wire-frame, or architecture of the site and to populate this structure with appropriate content. With

the understanding that the project is still evolving, let us take a tour of the website in its present form. The site opens with a gateway page (figure 2) featuring the actual sketch used by Roberts to promote his project, with the broad invitation: “Click Here to Enter the Virtual Museum.” This gateway page also contains, placed beneath the map, a brief background statement on the virtual museum and a set of additional page options to the left of the map. These options take the visitor to pages containing information on Warren E. Roberts, featuring a reprint of Henry Glassie’s biographical tribute to Roberts, “A Folklorist’s Progress;” on the Indiana University Folklore Archives; on southern Indiana folklife, where we will feature the student journals; and on the New Frontiers team, responsible for constructing the museum. There is at the left margin, as well, a second route into the virtual museum: “Visit the Outdoor Museum.” We have placed on this side of the board a link to a Multimedia page, where we envision adding interactive features, but these we have designated as “Phase Two” components. One of the target audiences for our website is K-12 students in Indiana, and we hope to add educational materials such as lesson plan suggestions, multimedia games, and possibly even a blog or chat room that will facilitate discussion and further investigation.

Entering the museum, either by clicking on the map in the gateway page or clicking on the “Visit” button, the visitor arrives at a larger rendering of the outdoor museum map with several sites displayed in blue script (figure 3). Our cyber visitors can journey across this map and stop at a number of stations, which currently include a Visitor’s Center, Covered Bridges,



Figure 2. The gateway page upon entrance to the virtual museum.

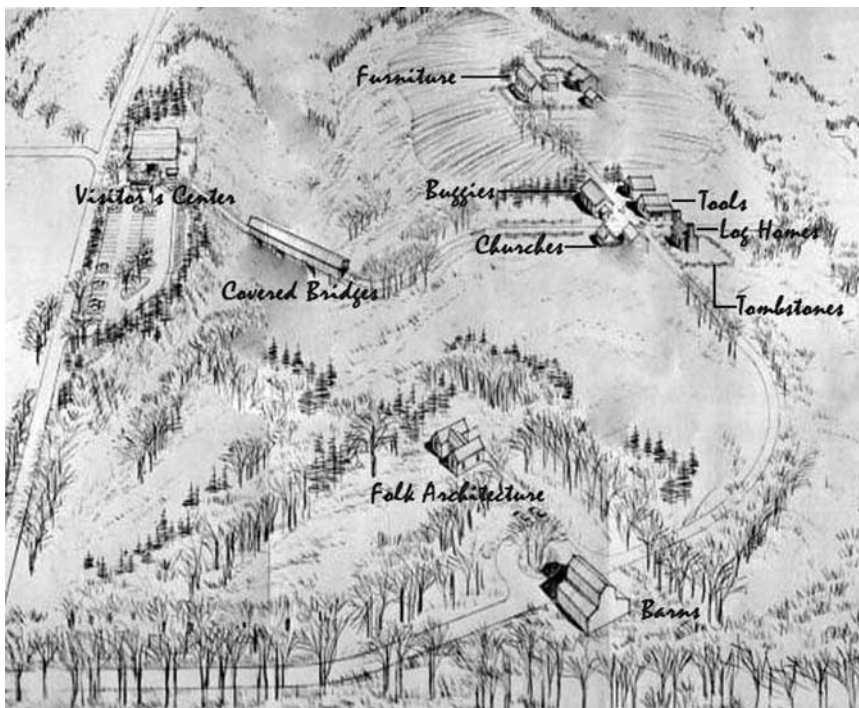


Figure 3. The clickable map, utilized over artist's hand-drawn design.

Furniture, Tools, Log Homes, Tombstones, and Folk Architecture. Each of these stations captures a particular area of strength in the Roberts Collection, and each constitutes a significant component of southern Indiana folklife. At these stations, the visitor navigates through a series of tabs to focus on striking photographs made by Roberts and his students, excerpts from the student journals, and documents related to the chosen theme. We will make an effort, as well, to tell the story of the outdoor museum itself—how structures were acquired, documented, and disassembled.

Initially, we expected the virtual museum to offer only a taste of the wonderful store of materials in the Roberts Collection. We anticipated that a visit to the virtual museum would certainly be an educational experience, but that serious research would require a visit to the IU Folklore Archives and submersion in the Roberts Collection there. To this end, Indiana University archivist Phil Bantin has elaborated an item-level index, an EAD, for this collection that will be accessed online as well. However, as word got around the university about our project, the Digital Library Project expressed interest in placing larger quantities of scanned data on their server, which can be accessed from the virtual museum website. We have initiated this work and look forward to making available these pools of data as resources that can be linked to from the virtual outdoor museum site. Most significantly, we are scanning and storing online the best

material in the student journals. The final product will consist of three interlaced layers: the virtual outdoor museum, the archive of scanned images in deliverable formats, and the repository of master images in high-density web documents. At the base of it all is, of course, the documents in the Roberts Collection in the Folklore Archives. Our expectation is that these elements, in combination, will constitute a valuable resource for research into southern Indiana folklife.

We invite you to inspect The Warren E. Roberts Virtual Outdoor Museum of Early Indiana Life, in its present configuration, at this cyber-location: <http://www.indiana.edu/~wer>. As our paper makes clear, ours is still a work in progress, and we welcome all constructive suggestions for ways to improve and enhance our product. As of this writing, in early June of 2008, we have proposed a forum at the American Folklore Society meeting in Louisville, Kentucky, scheduled for October 22-26, 2008, under the title "Warren E. Roberts and the Communitarian Ideal of Folklife Studies." We view this October event as the official launching of the Virtual Outdoor Museum of Early Indiana Life.

Acknowledgements

There are many folks who have helped with the creation of this virtual museum. We take this opportunity to voice our appreciation for the many thoughtful suggestions we have received. The Indiana University Department of Folklore and Ethnomusicology is well served by wonderfully astute and attentive faculty and staff, and we thank those who have lent us their support. Susan Henning-Harris helped us obtain an Indiana University URL for the website. Joanne Stuttgen, former student of Warren E. Roberts, has offered insights on WER's work in material culture, and she has helped us go about selecting materials to feature on the website and representing WER's work and ideas with integrity and accuracy. Amy Anderson, Artimus Keiffer, and Scott Roper have provided important ideas in design, implementation, and promotion for the website. Ms. Barbara Roberts has generously donated photographs, slides, and many documents to the Indiana University Folklore Archives. The staff at the University Archives, especially Bradley Cook, Dina Kellams, and Ryan Lee, assisted in transitioning the original documents into digital form. We also wish to extend a great thanks to the Pioneer America Society, which has generously given us the opportunity to report on our activities with the website and the career of Warren E. Roberts, both in this article and in a meeting presentation. Lastly, we note that the Warren E. Roberts Virtual Outdoor Museum of Early Indiana Life has been made possible through generous funding from Indiana University's New Frontiers in the Arts & Humanities Program.

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From the 2007 meeting ...



Pennsylvania Bank Barn, near Hagerstown, Maryland, 2007. Photograph by Artimus Keiffer.

The Uses of History in Western Maryland: The Little Meadows Historic Site

William M. Hunter, Heberling Associates, Inc.

Introduction

A joy of being a cultural resource professional is that rather than choose your subjects of study, those subjects choose you. Subjects that at first blush appear ordinary are, on closer inspection, found to be rich in historical associations. Rare are the subjects of obvious historical significance. These present an even greater challenge: of negotiating not only the qualities of the landscape, but also reconciling the many different representations, geographic images, and interested interpretations that have built up around the place through time.

Few places represent this challenge as well as the Little Meadows Historic Site in Garrett County, Maryland (Hunter 2004a; 2004b). As an important site on the frontier—a trader's resting place, a staging area, twice a refuge of retreat, a terminal point, a tavern site, and a landscape transformed by the worst excesses of modern development—Little Meadows is of unquestioned historical significance. It is also a critical constraint on the development of a new highway in western Maryland, a high-stakes game with place-altering implications. Agency officials are studying options to improve US 219 in Somerset County, Pennsylvania and Garrett County, Maryland (figure 1). Although many options are under consideration, most envision the project as a new four-lane limited-access highway.

Fortunately, the National Historic Preservation Act, the National Environmental Policy Act, and portions of the Federal Transportation Act agree that the preservation of the nation's heritage is in the public interest. To meet the requirements of these laws, agencies engage in the practice of CRM, cultural resource management. Through research, consultation and fieldwork, cultural resource managers try to understand the significance of a property and assess its integrity. Yet, what is, and what is not, considered historically significant is often grounded in the capacity of historians,

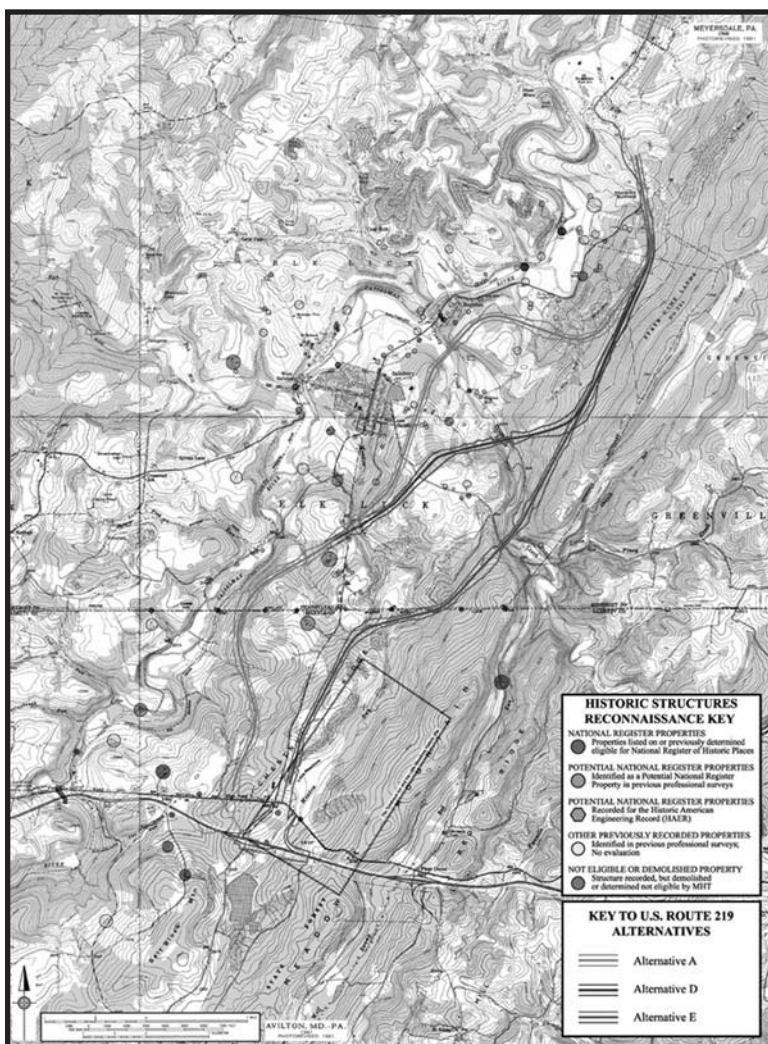


Figure 1. US 219 Alternatives. (All figures derived from Hunter 2004a except where noted.)

agency officials, and the public to deploy their readings of the past in the service of a particular interest or position (Lowenthal 1977). The meaning of the landscape is a function of who has the power to represent the landscape (Mitchell 2003, 242).

Of course, we know landscape is a challenging, and often duplicitous, subject. The landscape of Little Meadows region is a mosaic of overlapping phases of historical development. It is a story of contrasts and tensions between settlers and speculators, large business and small business, free labor and slave labor, local capital and distant capital, development of the extractive regime and a quest for sustainability. It is an amazing story. The story begins with the physical environment.

Meadow Mountain and the Ohio Company

Meadow Mountain (2990 ft amsl) is the most prominent physical feature immediately west of the Allegheny front; on its western slope is Little Meadows, an upland glade (figure 2). The origin of the glades is uncertain: some claim that they are a result of natural processes; others suggest that the natives cleared and maintained the open spaces as part of a network of trails and camps. Whatever the origin, prominent glades were important features in the earliest geographies of the area. The meadows were second only to the rivers and river crossings as features known to the traders and surveyors pressing west over the Allegheny Mountain. Resting places and sleeping places loom large in the imagination of long distance foot travelers, a respite from the rigors of travel that grows in importance with each footfall (Lacock 1912, 6; Scharf 1882, 1528).

In 1752, Ohio Company traders Christopher Gist, Thomas Cresap, and their native confederate Nemacolin camped at Little Meadows as they surveyed a route to a storehouse at the Forks of the Ohio, later cut by the Ohio Company to serve the lucrative trade with the western tribes. George Washington, a company associate with considerable interest in the development of western lands, traveled the road with Gist in 1753 to contest the growing French presence in the region. Rebuffed, the next year a force of Virginians under Washington advanced on the road through Little Meadows to challenge the French, marching to their reckoning, hungry



Figure 2. Meadow Mountain.

and exhausted, at the Great Meadows (Bantz 2002, 2003; Lacock 1912; National Park Service 1994; Waterman 1884). Little Meadows was on the line of retreat following Washington's surrender at Fort Necessity.

Washington was not shy about using geographic images to further his interests, especially in his championing of the Ohio Company route through Little Meadows above routes through Pennsylvania. In fact, Virginia's soldier-speculators actively conspired to favor the Ohio Company route as the British military planned their theater-wide campaign—the Pennsylvania authorities did the same (Jennings 1988, 379). Both interests used geographic images, or *imaginaries*, to reinforce their arguments. Washington often described the well-watered glades as ideal for forage, and underplayed the difficulties of the company road that contributed to his defeat (Stevens *et al.* 1951, 298).

A year later, General Edward Braddock assembled a force to assault Fort Duquesne. In spite of grave reservations, Braddock was persuaded to advance up the company road. He ordered engineers to painstakingly improve the road to specifications and establish an advance camp at Little Meadows (National Park Service 1994; Waterman 1884). The long column reached the Meadows from May 15 to 18, 1755. There, Braddock called a war council, and cognizant of the slow advance of the column, lack of fodder and the deteriorated condition of his troops, fatefully divided his force. Again, the route soon served as the avenue of retreat following Braddock's defeat; 900 fewer soldiers made the return trip. Unchecked, French, Canadian, and Indian war parties fell upon the Pennsylvania frontier.

The obvious route for the long awaited counterattack on Fort Duquesne was along the Raystown Road through Pennsylvania, built in part to support Braddock. However, the British command had to wrestle with the competing interests of the factions, and again Washington deployed a selective imaginary in the interests of the Ohio Company (Stevens and others 1951, 299):

And surely the Meadows on this Road wou'd greatly overbalance the advantage of having grass on the Rays Town Road and all agree that a more barren Road is no where to be found than from Rays Town ... not considering the badness of the road (George Washington to Henry Bouquet, August 2, 1758).

Washington portrayed the Company route through Little Meadows as a good road "abounding with food." This time, Forbes, informed by traders and scouts, saw through the geographic imaginary and committed to advance though Pennsylvania (Forbes to Bouquet July 23, 1758 in Stevens and others 1951).

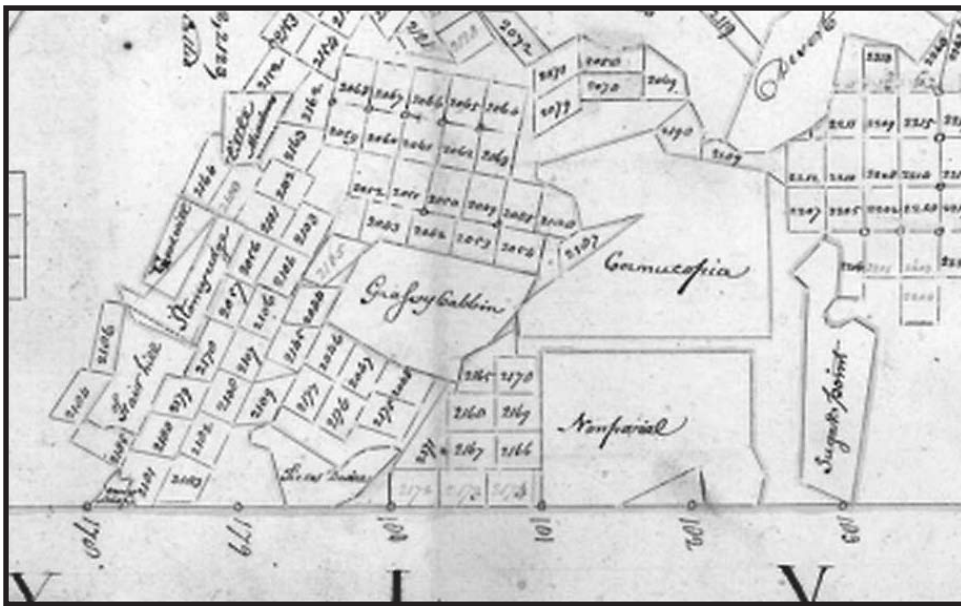


Figure 3. Map of Military Lots, Tracts, Patents, etc. (Veatch 1787)

The National Road

Following the expulsion of the French in 1758, traders again entered the region. Braddock's Road was "for three score years the only route westward through southwestern Pennsylvania" (Meyer 1948, 13). Wise investors quickly established taverns at key points along the route, and Joseph Tomlinson established the Red House tavern at Little Meadows; by then a well-known location, a "rest area" (Lacock 1912). Land in western Maryland was first converted into property through the redemption of warrants and the irregular surveys of choice lands. The first surveys closely relate to the physical geography of the claim: *Ormes Whim*, *Fair Hill*, *Stony Ridge*, *Grassy Cabin* and *Little Meadows* (Veatch 1787; figure 3). The original warrant for *Little Meadows* was for a modest 100 acres survey located south of Joseph Tomlinson's rectangular *Good Will* survey, a portion of his massive estate (Board of Education of Garrett County 1962, 1106).

The geographic imagination was again at play when Little Meadows was named as terminal point for a section of the National Road in 1811. Tavern keepers shifted their resources to the new route and in anticipation of the new highway opening to the west; Tomlinson's slaves built the massive Stone House Inn from 1816 to 1818 on the route of the National Road (Ecenbarger 2000; Scharf 1882, 146; figure 4).

The geographic image of Little Meadows was reinforced and disseminated by travelers on the National Road. The arrival of the railroad to Cumberland in 1842 was initially a great economic boon to the area, but



Figure 4. Tomlinson's Inn.

when the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad opened to Wheeling in 1852, the railroad supplanted the National Road. The end of freight convoys and flight of capital led to the intensive spatial ordering. Once-prosperous taverns languished, and trade relationships soured just as the coal and timber of Little Meadows attracted the interest of investors.

County histories are enthusiastic in their imaginative descriptions of the mineral wealth of the area, the “largest and wealthiest district in the country underlain with the best coal, having large tracts of valuable pine and other woods for lumber” (Scharf 1882, 1527). Naturally, these reports, aroused great interest among land speculators, local and otherwise (Buckley 1998, 178). The anonymous workers mining and timbering created what McMurry called a “layered landscape ... in which the boundaries between farms and industrial landscapes were continually defined and redefined, forming a vital ambiguity” (McMurry 2001, 135; 157). The landscape soon was to be overlain once again.

The Twentieth Century

Widespread ownership of the automobile, the rise of the engineer and the advent earth-moving equipment all were innovations that would affect Little Meadows and the National Road in significant and subtle ways. The evolution from National Pike, to local road, to US 40 was a creative and destructive process, leaving behind a “miscellany of often unrelated

features” as the National Road was amended, straightened, flattened, widened and rationalized—the transformation of the roadbed and roadside proving that there is never a stationary highway (Clay and Raitz 1996, 360).

By 1958, the interstate system in Maryland had been completed with the exception of the corridor into western Maryland (State Roads Commission 1958, 184). The “National Freeway” had met widespread opposition from historians and environmental activists emboldened by the recent passage of the historic preservation laws (Ierley 1990, 211). Hoping to preserve something of the landscape and to force the selection of another alternative, preservations directly intervened by deploying yet another geographic imaginary.

Little Meadows was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1973 as a rigidly rectangular 897-acre historic *site* on the pretext of its archaeological potential (figure 5). The argument for the expansive boundaries, including areas never historically associated with the Tomlinson Inn,

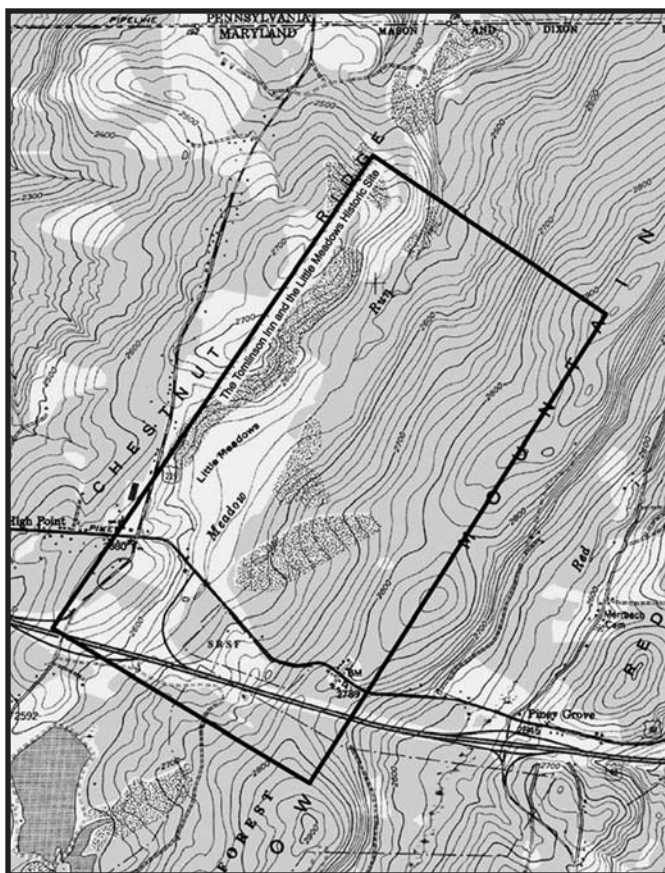


Figure 5. Little Meadows Historic Site Boundary.



Figure 6. US 68 through Little Meadows.

was that “picturesque Meadow Mountain ... has remained largely untouched by civilization,” and was “pristine” (Morgan and Miller 1973). Yet, at the time of the nomination, the scale and nature of landscape change was painfully evident, as Ruckert (1975, 583) noted:

Descending the west slope (of Meadow Mountain) ... (Braddock’s) road is once again visible, and continues that way until it abruptly ends at an *old strip mine*. However, coming out of the woods at this point, one is treated to an excellent view of Little Meadows and the old Stone House, but *any* resemblance to the Little Meadows of 1755 is, of course *destroyed*.

By 1975, the landscape of the sprawling site had long been compromised. But the worst was yet to come.

The preservationist’s intervention was late, and in spite of—or perhaps because of—its designation as a historic site, Little Meadows was bisected by US 48 (later I-68) in 1973 (figure 6). The highway fundamentally altered the landscape of Little Meadows, destroying a cemetery, forcing abandonment of neighboring farms, and affecting land use through the construction of service roads and exit ramps and the acquisition of right-of-way. Further, the economically stressed region gave up many unproductive farms for conversion into second homes by investors from Washington and Baltimore.

The changes in transportation intensified commercial development, commercial timbering, residential development, surface mining, and the construction of a government waste disposal site, all of which have ripped at the fabric of Little Meadows. The eastbound exit ramp cut to the Tomlinson Inn was later abandoned and is now used for storage and as a construction dump. Recent cellular tower construction adds yet another intrusion. Even the National Road has shifted repeatedly over time, and the old Stone Bridge was replaced by a modern bridge, of sympathetic appearance perhaps, a simulacrum nonetheless.

The “Loss of Old Spatial Coherences”

The National Park Service holds “it is proper to revise nominations that were prepared in the early years of the National Register program, when nominations had limited or vague boundary documentation” (Seifert 1997, 4). The extensive alterations to Little Meadows would seem to *demand* a reassessment of the historic property boundaries. Yet, at the insistence of state authorities, the National Register boundaries remain unchanged. As a historic site rather than a historic district, the entire extent of the historic property is considered a contributing element to the site, regardless of disturbance: a Section 4(f) resource that must be avoided unless there is no alternative to its use. The retention of the boundary in spite of the large-scale alteration of the landscape demands that people affected by alignment shifts, takes, and delays accept the imaginary over the reality, and of course, this has implications (figure 7).

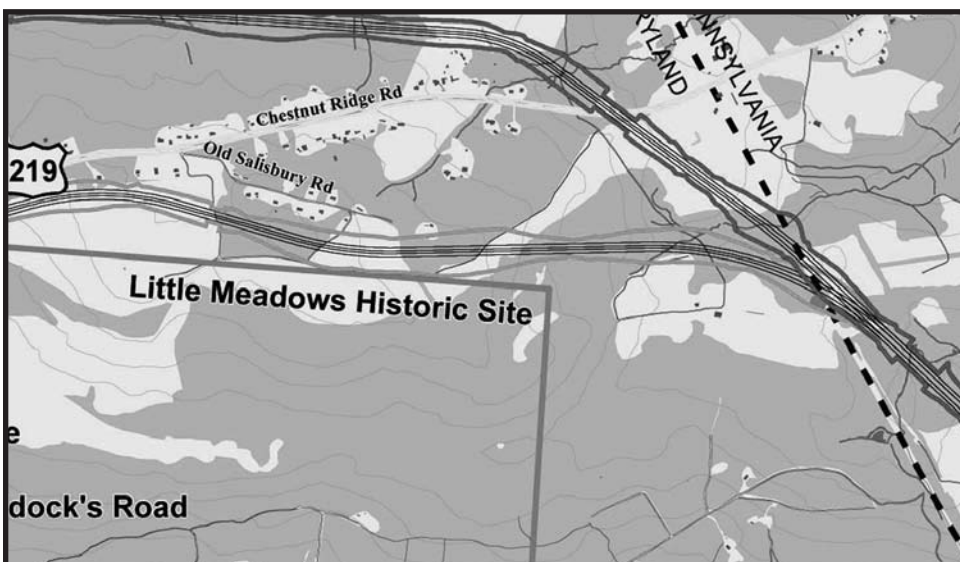


Figure 7. Avoidance Alternatives.



Figure 8. Little Meadows Historic Site.

With the transformation of the environment through land-use activities such as mining, development, and highway construction, we begin to mourn the loss of old spatial coherences (Massey 2005, 65). We try to capture them even as they are continuously being remade. It is often a nostalgia for something that did not exist in the first place—an imaginary of Little Meadows that, having once been used to legitimize the territorialization of space, is now deployed in the legitimization of a response to its undoing (Massey 2005, 65).

Recent changes to the transportation law allow at least the possibility of a positive outcome as agencies are forced to avoid, minimize and mitigate effects of all the property within that rectangle—mitigation could lead to landscape restoration, development of a wayside, public education and more (figure 8). It could happen.

But, such playful manipulation of the process has tremendous implications, not the least of which is that the integrity of the process is compromised. The resulting delays, shifts of alignments, unnecessary takes of houses and land, and the privileging of a degraded landscape over other environmental constraints costs public support for historic preservation, earns sensible protection of historic properties powerful enemies, and can result in the cancellation of much needed programs and projects that, given our current circumstances, may never be built at all. It is a high-stakes game.

By imagining landscapes, filling them with signs, preserving some artifacts and destroying others, CRM practitioners produce meaning on the landscape and thereby affect the people who call these manufactured places their home (Harvey 1979; Peet 1996). It is my hope that agency officials, professional historians, and the public can confront the problem of landscape integrity with integrity, and allow the reality of the landscape to trump the imaginary in informing large-scale decision-making.

On the other hand, maybe it is the imaginary, and not the landscape, that is what is important after all (Mitchell 2002, 199–200).

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Preservation Through Recreation: The Dahlgren Railroad Heritage Trail

Dawn S. Bowen, University of Mary Washington

Introduction

The Dahlgren Railroad Heritage Trail is a controversial rails-to-trails conversion project on an abandoned military railroad in King George County, Virginia. A dedicated group of individuals, the Friends of DRHT, has made remarkable progress in the last eighteen months, clearing the land, creating a trail head, marshalling support from county residents, and educating those who are opposed to trail development. The trail opened as a private, permit-required hiking and biking trail in June 2006, and continues to be improved and developed (figure 1). While the greatest

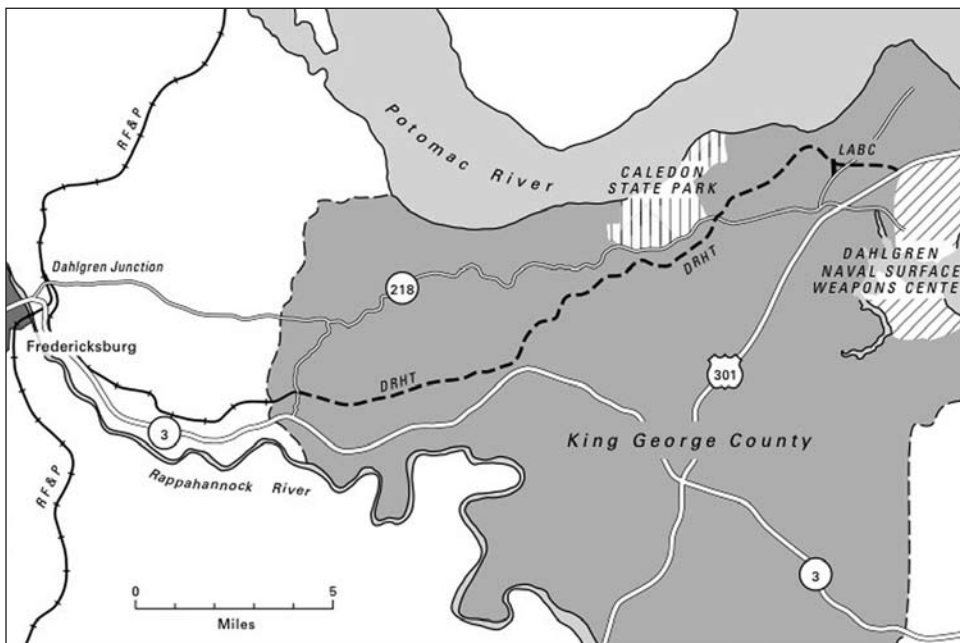


Figure 1. The Dahlgren Railroad Heritage Trail.

gains from establishment of the trail are enhanced recreational opportunities, an often unconsidered benefit is the chance to preserve history—not only the railroad line itself, but also historic events and sites within the community through which the tracks were built. Although there is much to be said about the history of the railroad, the organization of trail supporters and the opposition which the group has faced, the focus of this paper is the development of the trail as a tool of historic preservation.

From Rail Lines to Walking and Biking Paths

Communities across the United States are benefiting from the conversion of former railroad lines into walking and biking paths. Peter Harnik (2007), co-founder of the Rails-to-Trails Conservancy, explains the phenomenon, largely Midwestern in origin, as smart and simple. Turning abandoned rail corridors into public trails was a logical outcome as local citizens began walking along these stretches of land. Only recently has the movement taken on national proportions as the American rail network continues to diminish. At present, more than 1400 trails have been established and 13,500 miles of former rail lines have been converted across the United States, with another 1200 rail-trail projects totaling more than 14,000 miles planned or under development (Rails-to-Trails Conservancy 2006).

Scholars have paid little attention to this emerging movement. The vast literature that addresses the various components of trail making has largely been created by advocacy organizations such as the Rails-to-Trails Conservancy and American Trails, state and county planning agencies, and local trail organizers. Lawyers and planners have addressed legal precedents and open space preservation, but preservationists and geographers have ignored the phenomenon. The one article to consider the role of trails as a historic preservation tool is a brief four-page “fact sheet” prepared by the Rails-to-Trails Conservancy (2006). Numerous trails across the US provide, as this document states, “a window into our history and culture by connecting people to the past.” Furthermore, “trails provide an opportunity to physically experience the places where historical events occurred” (RTC 2006).

The Dahlgren Railroad Heritage Trail

King George County, nestled between the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers, has a rich but largely undocumented history. Its numerous historic properties, few of which are open to the public, represent a period of time when the area’s economy was dominated by tobacco production, population was small, and the flow of goods and people was geared to small

The Dahlgren Railroad Heritage Trail

In 1941, the US government acquired property from King George County landowners, by decree of condemnation, for the purpose of constructing a railroad connecting the Naval Proving Ground at Dahlgren with the existing Fredericksburg rail line at Cool Springs in Stafford, VA. Construction began in early 1941 and by 1942 the Dahlgren Branch rail line was being used to ship munitions and war materials to the Navy Base at Dahlgren, VA. The Dahlgren Branch line operated until 1957, during which time it was also used as a passenger line.

The Dahlgren line sat idle until 1965 when the US Government offered it for sale by auction; the Richmond, Fredericksburg, & Potomac Railroad (RF&P) thus acquired the line, hoping to spur industrial development. In 1990 the RF&P removed most of the rails from the unused segment in King George County. CSX Transportation then acquired the Dahlgren line in 1992, and a year later offered the abandoned portion for sale. It is this section that has become the Dahlgren Railroad Heritage Trail.

In late 1995, Joe Williams, a King George resident with a keen interest in history, began negotiations with CSX Transportation for the purchase of the abandoned rail line. In October 1997, once Williams had a contract on the property, Jo Turek, then County Director of Parks & Recreation, wrote a letter to the King George Board of Supervisors advising them that Williams was willing to make the railroad property available to the county and that federal grant money may be a viable means of obtaining the trail for recreational purposes. The Board of Supervisors declined to support the proposal. In December 1997 Williams completed his acquisition of the railroad property.

In the years after the purchase, as Williams continued to promote the property as a county trail, State support for the creation of a King George rail trail grew – the Dahlgren Trail was listed in the 2001 Virginia Outdoors plan. Williams pursued a variety of options for turning the abandoned rail line into a community trail, but met with no success due in large part to a lack of support from the County Board of Supervisors.

In January 2002, following a request from the Virginia Department of Conservation & Recreation (DCR), Delegate Albert Pollard submitted House Bill 1339, which would authorize DCR to accept the rail bed as a gift from the Conservation Fund which had funds to purchase the railway property. The property was to “be developed as a rails-to-trails project” and “would be managed by the Department of Conservation and Recreation.” The bill passed the House unanimously and DCR announced plans to integrate the rail trail into the Caledon Natural Area. Due to unexpected controversy, Pollard held a town hall meeting in the County to hear and respond to concerns being voiced by the trail’s neighbors. Although HB 1339 was revised, taking into consideration those citizen concerns, the Senate referred the bill back to Committee, where it died.

In early 2006 Williams and David Brickley, former director of the DCR and a former Delegate of the Virginia, announced that Brickley had acquired the rights to establish a private recreational trail on the property as an intermediate step toward a state-supported rail trail. In June, Brickley appeared before the Board of Supervisors to explain plans for the project. Since May 2006, the Friends of the Dahlgren Railroad Heritage Trail, has worked to develop the trail. Currently the Dahlgren Railroad Heritage Trail is a private permit-only recreational trail, and users must have a valid trail permit.

Source: Friends of the Dahlgren Railroad Heritage Trail, 2007.

Figure 2. DRHT trailhead marker.

landings along the rivers on the county’s periphery. King George County has experienced rapid growth in the last decade and a half, with its population increasing from 13,500 in 1990 to 21,700 in 2006 (United States Department of the Interior 2007). This growth has placed real strains on local infrastructure and many residents are concerned that too much construction is occurring without appropriate planning. Despite the growing need for recreational spaces and the clear benefits of the trail to the County, the Board of Supervisors, responding to political pressure from the trail’s opponents, has thus far been unwilling to support its development.

Consequently, private landowners and trail enthusiasts have formed an organization to develop the trail privately. At present, a permit is required to use the trail, but the Friends hope that the trail eventually will become part of the Virginia state system. I have been a participant observer in the trail development process for about a year, and earlier this year I supervised students who documented the trail’s history, as well as the organization of DRHT. While the immediate goal has been to make the trail accessible, the DRHT board regards the trail and its surroundings as historically significant and sees the erection of historical markers as an important part of the trail development process. Markers will be installed at appropriate points along the trail to increase users’ awareness of the heritage of the land through which it passes.

At the trailhead, a marker will be installed that provides historical background to the railroad (figure 2). In part, the marker reads:

In 1941, the US government acquired property from King George County landowners for the purpose of constructing a railroad connecting the Naval Proving Ground at Dahlgren with the existing rail line at Fredericksburg. Construction began in early 1941, and by 1942 the Dahlgren Branch rail line was being used to ship munitions and war materials to the Navy Base at Dahlgren, Virginia. The Dahlgren Branch line operated until 1957, during which time it was also used as a passenger line.

The Dahlgren line sat idle until 1965 when the US Government offered it for sale at auction; thus, the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Railroad (RF&P) acquired the line, hoping to spur industrial development. In 1990 the RF&P removed most of the rails from the unused segment in King George County. CSX Transportation then acquired the Dahlgren line in 1992, and a year later offered the abandoned portion for sale. It is this section that has become the Dahlgren Railroad Heritage Trail.

Other Markers and Historic Sites

There are numerous plantations and historic homes in the county, most of which are located a short distance from the trail, including three that are listed on the National Register of Historic Places. All of the properties are privately owned and none are open to the public. Although owners have some legitimate concerns about privacy and fear of trespass, the installation of markers about these properties can help residents and visitors alike appreciate the historic significance of these properties and their residents. The notable properties include Barnesfield (circa 1715, no existing structure), Caledon (no existing structure), Marmion (circa 1700), Rokeby (circa 1828); markers for Eagle's Nest and Cleydael are discussed here. The site of Eagle's Nest was first acquired by William Fitzhugh I, a prominent Virginia merchant and member of the House of Burgesses (figure 3). The house is located one mile south of the Potomac River, and approximately two miles north of the trail.

Cleydael is located about a mile south of the trail and earned its brief period of fame when Lincoln's assassin, John Wilkes Booth, stopped at the house in 1865 (figure 4). The home was built in the 1850s by Dr. Richard Stuart as a summer residence after the malaria epidemic of 1849. The floor plan is unusual in that its intersecting halls form a T, a design which permitted cross-breezes in the hot Virginia summers. The name comes from the medieval castle of the same name near Antwerp, Belgium, which was the ancestral home of his wife's mother.

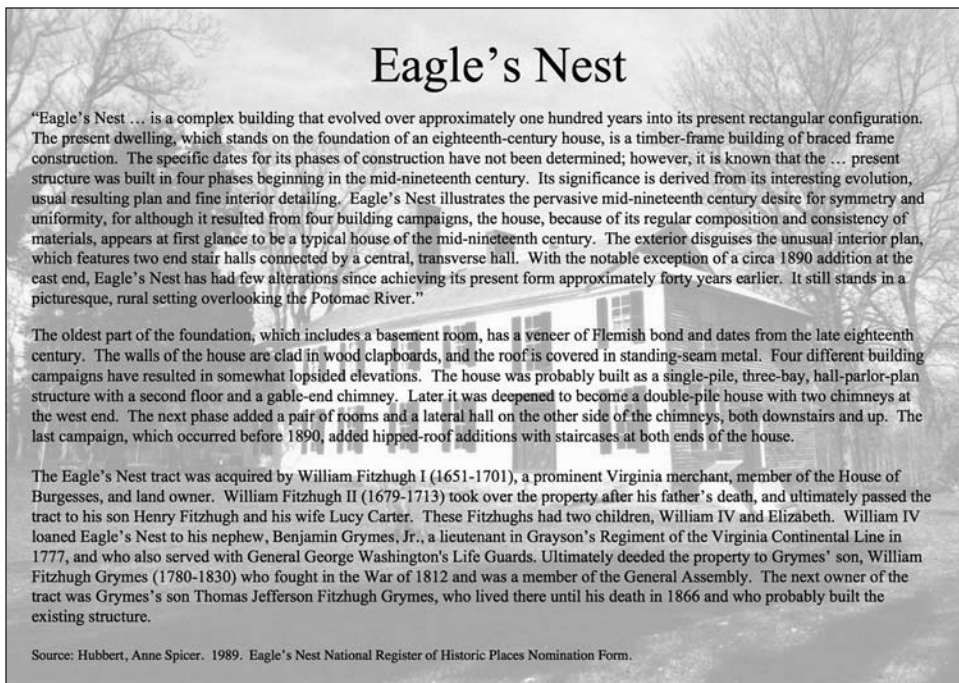


Figure 3. Eagle's Nest marker.

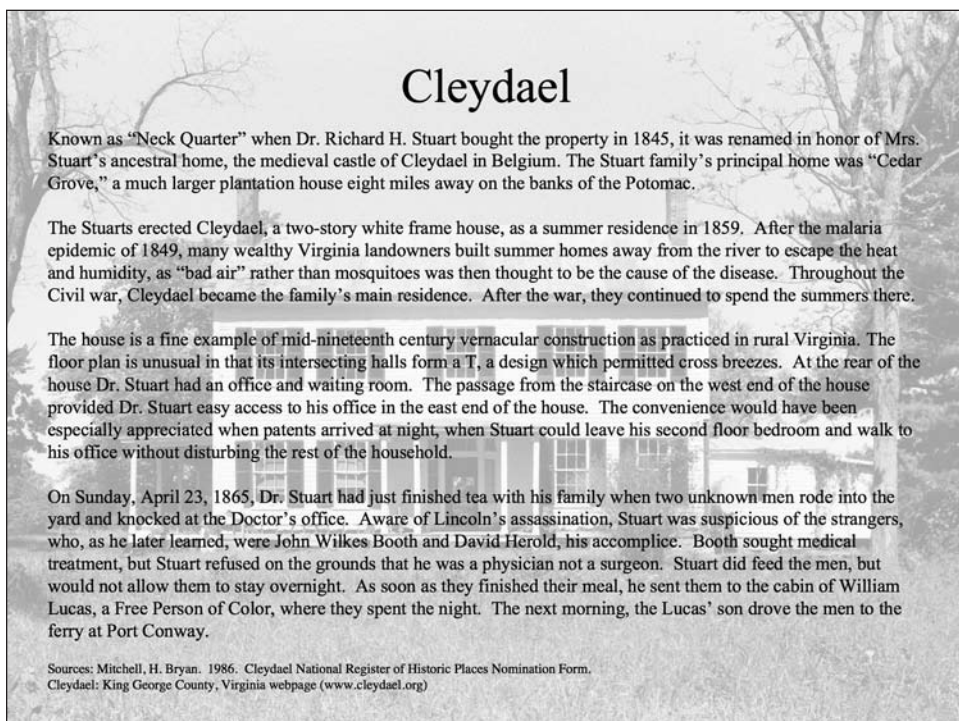


Figure 4. Cleydael marker.

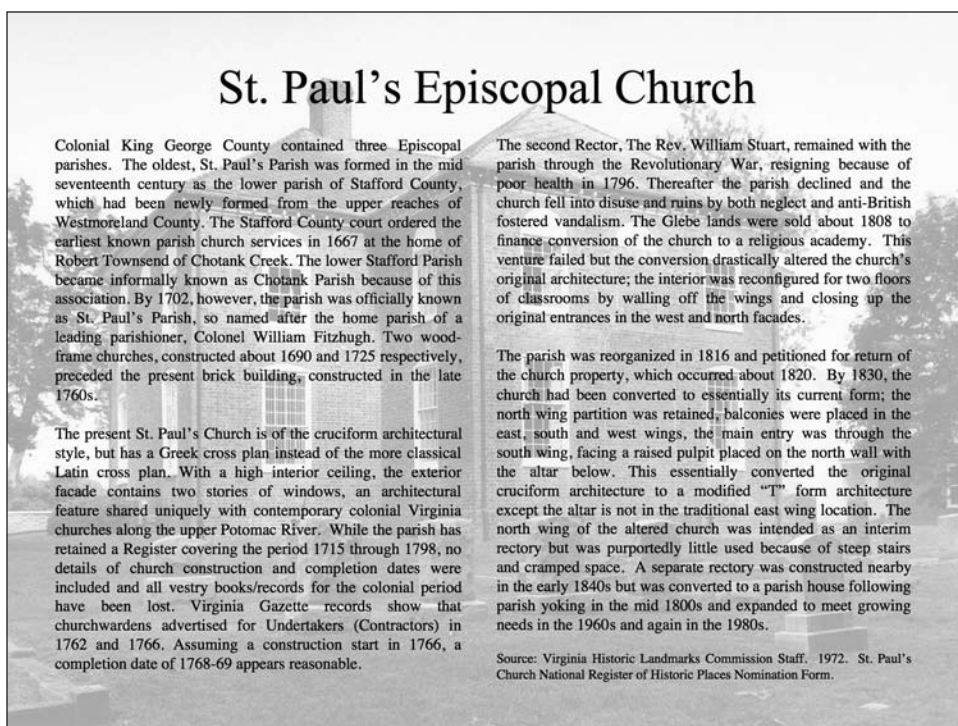


Figure 5. St. Paul's Episcopal Church marker.

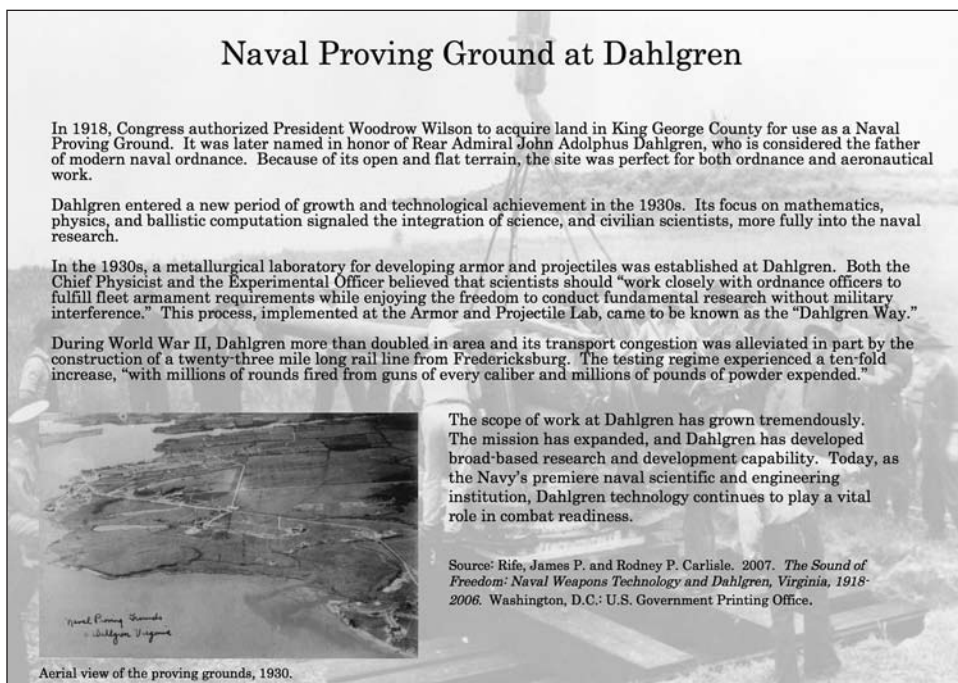


Figure 6. Naval Proving Ground marker.

The remaining markers will highlight nearby properties that have historic significance. The trail passes near two Episcopal Churches, both constructed in the eighteenth century. Markers for both of these would describe the architectural details of the structures and situate them in a historic context. Lamb's Creek Church is a fine example of Colonial Church of England hall-type architecture, and dates from the late 1760s. The second church, St. Paul's, was also constructed in the 1760s, but unlike Lamb's Creek, it remains in use (figure 5). St. Paul's has a cruciform architectural style, but has a Greek cross plan instead of the more classical Latin cross plan. Both of these churches were listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

The last three markers will be clustered at the end of the trail, the specific location of which is still to be determined. The railroad was built to improve transportation of heavy guns to the Naval Proving Ground at Dahlgren (figure 6). In 1918, Congress authorized President Woodrow Wilson to acquire land in King George County for use as a Naval Proving Ground. It was later named in honor of Rear Admiral John Adolphus Dahlgren, who is considered the father of modern naval ordnance. Because of its open and flat terrain, the site was perfect for both ordnance and aeronautical work. During World War II, WAVES (Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service) made an impact at Dahlgren (figure 7). The war created enormous demands for scientists, technicians, and engineers,

WAVES: Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service

More than 100,000 women served in the wartime WAVES, a group of workers most often associated with clerical and nursing positions. Less well known are the female engineers, astronomers, metallurgists, and statisticians who joined the WAVES or who took courses in engineering, science, and management defense training. WWII created enormous demands for scientists, technicians, and engineers, professions that had traditionally been dominated by men. With men sent overseas, women "played a valuable and perhaps surprising part in the Navy's race for technological supremacy."

Although a few women had desired technical skills, others acquired these skills by enrolling in specifically-designed courses in meteorology, photogrammetry, topographical drafting, and electronics. Engineering programs developed and offered these courses, as did many women's colleges, and night schools were established to provide training in electronics and communications.



Women assisting in range operations at Dahlgren, 1942.



The most notable female scientist to join the WAVES, Dr. Grace Murray Hooper, had a doctorate in Mathematics from Yale University. The Navy assigned Lt. Hopper to the Mark 1 computer project at Harvard where she and other team members (including the only other woman, Ruth Brendel, a WAVE ensign) used this, the Navy's only computer, to make complex calculations for guns, mines, and self-propelled rockets.

At war's end, Congress and the Navy debated the future of women in the military. The Chief of Naval Communications, noted that WAVES had been "particularly well fitted for work in coding rooms, for message traffic handling, for linguistic assignments, for cryptanalytic work, and for all phases of naval communications." While women's role has been largely unheralded, "the cumulative accomplishments of the WAVES were important in winning the USN's scientific war."

Source: Dr. Kathleen Broome Williams, "Women Ashore: The Contribution of WAVES to US Naval Science and Technology in World War II," *The Northern Mariner*, 1998.

Figure 7. WAVES marker at Dahlgren.

professions that had traditionally been dominated by men. With men sent overseas, women filled the void. Although their role has been largely unheralded, “the cumulative accomplishments of the WAVES were important in winning the USN’s scientific war” (Williams 1998).

Conclusion

DRHT is still a work in progress. While the trail is accessible to walkers and hikers along its length, there are still a number of unresolved issues. The last parcel of trail property was sold for commercial development in the late 1990s. The trail currently stops just before Little Ark Baptist Church, a historic African American congregation through whose cemetery the railroad crossed in the 1940s. The Friends wish to return the property to the church and reroute the trail onto an adjacent property. In addition, a large big-box retail development is being planned between US 301 and SR 624. The developer is supportive of the trail and the Friends hope that a portion of the parking lot could be set aside for trail users.

For a county rich in history, but with few public displays of that history, DRHT represents a significant opportunity and an innovative method to bring new awareness of the area’s agrarian history, and to the more recent developments that involved the naval base and the railroad built to serve it. Together the trail and its markers can provide the people of this rapidly growing county with opportunities for recreation and for greater appreciation of its heritage.

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On the Road

Folk Architecture for Mass Consumption

A Missouri Example

Keith A. Sculle



On the way to Camdenton, Missouri, on the shores of the Lake of the Ozarks, perhaps the oldest tourist cabins in that recreational destination survive along Highway 5. Built shortly after 1934, when the single-family residence on the same lot was completed, these two cabins reveal something of what leisure-time luxury looked like just after the Lake of the Ozarks was formed after 1931. These cabins remained in business for about a half century.

Not only do these roadside relics catch the eye of highway travelers from a later age but they stand out for their attractive craftsmanship. Automobile travel has created one of the nation's definitive landscapes in the 20th century but the buildings have often spurred uncomplimentary remarks about their tacky quality and short life. However, even in their idle state, the masonry (known as “cobblestone,” “giraffe rock,” or “slab



rock”) on these buildings bears testimony to local builders’ aesthetics. See David Quick and Lynn Morrow, “The Slab Rock Buildings of Thayer, Missouri,” *PAST* 13 (1990) 35–43.

The Vanishing Apple Farms of Southern New Hampshire

Scott C. Roper and Stephanie Abbot Roper

In 1933, in response to James Walter Goldthwait's "A Town That Has Gone Downhill" (*Geographical Review* 17 [1927] 527-552) about the decline of Lyme, New Hampshire, the American Geographical Society published *New England's Prospect: 1933* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1933). The book consists of a collection of chapters written by representatives of academia, business, industry, and agriculture, and attempts to explain why New England appeared to be in economic and social decline and how to reverse that decline.

One of those chapters was H. C. Woodworth's "The Yankee Community in Rural New England" (178-188), which explained the differences between so-called "progressive" and "declining" towns. He wrote:

The individual in the progressive community is likely to have a long-time program. He will tell you that he intends to set out apple trees in one of his small fields now and in a second field next year; that he is now making improvements in his home and expects to take out a stone wall and to lime and seed down the larger field a year hence. There is a forward look. The community has faith in itself. ...



Figure 1. New development of the Holt Farm, Wilton.



Figure 2. Recently constructed house in a Holt Farm orchard, Wilton.

At the other extreme are the Yankee communities where agriculture is declining and the people drifting hopelessly. The individual has no plans for the future. He is no longer a pioneer. He cuts the hay, milks a few cows, brings in the winter supply of wood, and raises a few bushels of potatoes and beans in an absent-minded way. Neither his mind nor his heart is in the job (178–79).

Woodworth, who worked for the New Hampshire Agricultural Experiment Station, provided an example of a so-called “progressive” community: the apple farms of Wilton and Lyndeborough, neighboring towns in southern New Hampshire. According to Woodworth, the two communities very much resembled the “declining” model until an “enthusiastic and practical fruit man trained in the theory and practice of horticulture,” Ben Richardson, arrived in the area and taught local farmers the science and economics of apple production. Subsequently, apple production exploded, and by the 1950s the area was featured as part of an annual automotive tour promoted by an economic-development organization, the Monadnock Region Association.

The apple farms mentioned by Woodworth, as well as those of neighboring towns such as Temple, are disappearing. Several years ago, one older resident of Lyndeborough claimed that beginning of the end came after World War II, when farms moved away from heartier varieties such as



Figure 3. Barn and packing house, Lyndeborough.



Figure 4. New house in a former Rose Farm orchard, Lyndeborough.

Baldwins in favor of McIntosh, which tend to bruise easily when shipped. Yet the convenience of Wilton and Lyndeborough to Nashua and Boston, the growth of local cities, and rising land values also have made agriculture less profitable than exurban development.

Today, most remaining orchards are owned by out-of-town corporations. The numbers of Jamaican apple pickers migrating to the region each fall is dwindling. Even so, as these photos suggest, one still can glimpse the past in the barns, packing houses, and unkempt orchards of Wilton, Lyndeborough, and Temple.



Figure 5. Packing house, Temple.



Figure 6. Abandoned orchard, Temple.

DVD Reviews

A Forest Returns

The Success Story of Ohio's Only National Forest as told by Ora E. Anderson.

produced by Jean Andrews and Steve Fetsch

Athens: Ohio Landscape Productions, Inc., 2005.

Image Gallery, "Ohio Landscape Catalog," Unedited Interview Excerpts, Speech on the Founding of Dairy Barn Arts Center, Essay, and Documentary: "Ora Anderson: What is Nature?"

\$20.00 (DVD), 30 minutes.

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Deeksha Nagar, Mathers Museum of World Cultures, Indiana University

When Ora E. Anderson, a journalist and former editor of the newspaper, *Jackson Herald*, reminisces about Ohio of the 1930s, his memories are full of bare hills, pastures surrounded by barbed wire fences, corn fields on top of hills and at the bottom of creeks, and "no sign of deer or a beaver in the entire State of Ohio." *A Forest Returns: The Success Story of Ohio's Only National Forest*, produced by Jean Andrews and Steve Fetsch, is an informative documentary, featuring Anderson, an eyewitness to the creation of Wayne National Forest, as its narrator. The 93-year-old Anderson's comparisons between the landscape of the past and the present Ohio is deftly presented through a rich array of photographs and newspaper articles juxtaposed against the images of the countryside today. The music by Bruce Dalzell flows exceptionally well in setting the mood and tone of visual materials.

The film is divided into six short sections that contextualize the causes of destruction and the re-creation of the forest on the hills of southeastern Ohio. The first section, "All These Programs," describes how the reforestation project during the era of depression brought new hope and excitement into the lives of the youth of Ohio. Anderson recounts how the creation of a national forest in Ohio was the product of "one of those Public Work Administration or Works Progress Administration programs coming out of Washington," to provide jobs to the unemployed.

"Old Bare Hills," highlights the federal government's "practical and economic purposes" for developing a national forest in southern Ohio. The newspaper articles and Anderson's narrative show the federal government's intention of purchasing one million and two hundred thousand acres of "barren, sub-marginal or nonproductive land in southern Ohio"

and converting it into federal parks and reserves. The government planned to pay six to eight dollars per acre to its owners and cover the land with native trees like “white, red, and black chestnut, many varieties of oak, hickory, ash, maple, basswood, sycamore, beech, tulip, popular, walnut and short leaf and Virginia pines.” In terms of long-term goals, the government saw this project as a viable means of providing recreation to its citizens while creating a geographic environment for “timber production, flood control, erosion prevention, and game protection.”

“A Hundred Years of Destruction,” tells the poignant story of “...wiping out hills and river valleys clean of trees.” Anderson summarizes the negative impact of cutting down timber for farming, charcoal making, and mining—a process that began in southern Ohio in the mid-1800s and destroyed almost all the forests by the first quarter of the 20th century. This section includes an interesting selection of photographs that illustrate the industrial process of lumbering, charcoal making, iron production, and additional images depicting the local environment and working conditions of miners and farmers.

The fourth section, “Let’s Start Something” includes a fine selection of photographs highlighting the living conditions and economic situation of the poverty-stricken farmers. Anderson suggests that the reforestation program of southern Ohio began because someone might have said something as simple as, “Let’s start something.” The project in itself did not require large-scale investment or work force. Even though the creation of Wayne National Forest began as a relief effort to purchase lands from starving farmers and landowners who couldn’t pay their taxes, “...all government had to do was to let the land stand for twenty years...” so that the forest could rejuvenate itself. Anderson’s narrative also points out to the humanistic approach taken by the government which allowed farmers who could not afford to move out from their land to continue living in their farmhouses and maintain a garden, but promise to leave the rest of their acreage untilled.

“Bashful Citizens” gives a glimpse of the lives and contribution of youth affiliated with Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) that was involved in the initial effort of planting trees. Even though these young men had little education and did not receive any training in gardening, they had the energy to engage in manual labor such as clearing ditches, constructing roads, and building wooden dams to obstruct erosion. They lived in camps resembling army barracks and socialized with local community members, in particular, eligible young women. These members of the CCC also published a monthly newspaper with the help of Anderson.

In the final section, “I Love Big Dreamers,” Anderson reflects and evaluates the initial goals and the actual outcomes of the reforestation project. Although the current size of the Wayne National Forest is 230,000 acres, Anderson expresses his admiration for those “big dreamers” who wanted

to create such a sizable forest measuring 1.2 million acres. He believes that if the government had actually invested financial resources into the project at that time, it might have achieved its goal. Anderson also reviews the social and cultural impact of the development project on the local communities. Particularly after the end of World War II, there were tremendous changes in the economics of the region and in the lifestyles of the people who lived there.

In summary, this film is not just a documentary on the Wayne National Forest; it also speaks of the life stories of people, illustrating how they respond to the changes in the socio-cultural structures of their environment. Anderson's account also lends itself as an archival piece of oral history. The quality of the production is excellent and reflects upon the involvement of Jean Andrews, the producer, videographer, and interviewer of the film. This film may be of a particular interest to ethnographers and visual anthropologists because it highlights the significance of how a little bit of sensitivity and creative imagination can transform visual and archival research into a powerful piece of video documentary. For instructors of American history, anthropology, sociology, and human geography, this documentary is an excellent tool for inviting the students to evaluate the life style of and the ecological environment of the Depression-era rural United States.

Book Reviews

White Metropolis

Race, Ethnicity, and Religion in Dallas, 1841-2001

by Michael Phillips

Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006

ix+267 pp. Illustrations, Index, Bibliographic References, Notes

\$60.00 (cloth), ISBN 0-292-70968-4

\$19.95 (paper) ISBN 0-292-71274-x

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by John H. Barnhill

Southern history is a story of a caste society built on race—with varying degrees of exploitation and violence depending on time and location. In rare instances, Southern cities seem to manage to avoid that history, to develop outside their historical environment. Atlanta, for instance, has long claimed to be the city too busy to hate. Houston styles itself as a cosmopolitan city with no interest in the parochial concerns of racial, ethnic, and religious discrimination and discord.

From the first efforts of the founding elites, Dallas has sought to portray itself in a similar light to Atlanta and Houston. While accepting its geographical setting in the Southwest, Dallas has contended that it transcends the dark side of its region and has escaped labor and race and religious unrest. In *White Metropolis*, Michael Phillips contends that Dallas is living, if not a lie, at least a myth. Rather than being a city of harmony, Dallas is fully Southern, with a history full of racial oppression and violence, suppression of labor, and discrimination and cooptation of religious minorities. Those who want to participate in the life of Dallas—even as second class players—must accept the values and myths of the white protestant elite that created the illusion.

Phillips details how the city developed the myth, buried historical memory that conflicted with its self image, and, when the myth unraveled, found itself a city with no past, no context, and no tie to any region or time.

Dallas has no defining geographical feature such as a major river or a coastline. Not being a center of any particularly distinctive agricultural region, it is a city without any particular rationale for being. There was no Fort Dallas, no strategic location on the Chisholm Trail. It just sort of happened and lasted until the railroad gave it purpose. Then it began to grow. And those who made it grow were white men, an elite that persists into the 21st century.

The original settlers were white Protestants. Those who came to make their fortunes after the war were white Protestants, either refugees from the failed Confederacy or Northerners scenting an opportunity. In either case, they had little regard for the Mexicans and blacks who shared the town site if not control of the town. Moreover, they had little more regard for the white failures, the working masses and classes. As necessary they allowed limited access to their city; as necessary they allowed the class and racial conflicts that arose due to competition for resources and access. Dallas had its share of lynchings and racial violence. It also witnessed its share of labor discontent and discrimination against Jews, Catholics, and other religious minorities.

Dallas flourished, and those who knew the truth about violence and discrimination kept their silence, at least in part because they wanted acceptance or at least tolerance by the white power structure.

Drawing on the field of whiteness studies, the author develops his history as a story of a relatively weak and insecure white protestant male elite preserving its power against potential threats by co-opting those threats with promises of inclusion in the white race. All too often, all it takes is a contrast of the new whiteness with the old black foil that has been available to all Southern elites from days predating the establishment of this Texas city.

Past historians have neglected the story of Dallas. Historians of the South, whether the New South of the Gilded Age or the civil rights South of the Second Reconstruction, regard Dallas as too western to feature in their stories. Historians of the West have little to say about the “Southern” city. Dallas does seem to have avoided much of the drama that made the regional histories distinctive. There was no major civil rights event in the city, and it never had a “Wild West” cattle-town period. Dallas was a city that seemed to have escaped history—until a November day in 1963. When history caught up with Dallas, the city was stunned and helpless. All it could do was attempt to pull its image back up around its shoulders and move on.

This work began as a dissertation, so the quality of the research is impeccable. Unlike most reworked dissertations, *White Metropolis* is highly readable. Phillips has a newspaper background, so he knows how to tell a story. And he tells the story strongly. He makes it hard for the myth of Dallas to live much longer. After this work, the conventional wisdom must be that the city of Dallas has had all the problems that comparable Southern cities have gone through during the past century and a half—racial and social and economic change and disruption particularly. Where Dallas differed was in its ability to avoid even acknowledging the problems, much less addressing them. Dallas has avoided history, but at the cost of letting the problems remain—and at the cost of having no historical basis for its existence. The town with no reason for being has grown into the city with no character—and the problems remain.

White Metropolis is an outstanding contribution to the fields of Texas history, whiteness studies, and urban history. It is recommended for scholars and interested laypeople alike.

The Encyclopedia of New England

edited by Burt Feintuch and David H. Watters

New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005

xxiv+1564pp. Foreword, Introduction, Acknowledgements, Maps,

Illustrations, List of Contributors

\$65.00 (cloth), ISBN 0-3001-0027-2

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Marshall Joseph Becker, The University of Pennsylvania

If you are looking for a book as a gift for an information-junkie friend, *The Encyclopedia of New England* may be just what you need. When I first began to read this hefty volume I was annoyed by its peculiar organization, but the editorial decision to divide it into 22 topical sections makes for a good read. The sections range from “Agriculture” to “Tourism,” and

they include subjects as diverse as folk life and politics, plus the politically correct topic “Gender.” Entries in each section are alphabetical. The decision to use this format is addressed in a section called “How to Use This Book” (xix-xx), but readers should turn to the rather good index when looking for a specific entry. Each section has its own introduction, but the placement of specific topics within these sections may not be what the individual reader might expect. While this volume is “profusely illustrated,” only about 250 of the nearly 500 photographs are credited (1511-14), and the captions often are wanting.

To give *the Encyclopedia of New England* a considered review I paid special attention to entries relating to the Native American peoples of this region, an area that recently has become the focus of my wampum research efforts. Before addressing this group of entries, let me note some of the many excellent essays, selected in a non-random fashion. Milda B. Richardson’s “Catholic Churches” (in “Architecture” [90-92]) provided me with a new perspective on this aspect of a religion that has long had a presence in the region, but a presence that was quite discontinuous. The first documented Catholic chapel built in this region was erected in 1604 by French missionaries for the local Native Americans in the area that now is Maine. This simple structure, certainly as crude as the usual tiny cabins that the missionaries used both as residences and chapels, was erected on the island of Sainte-Crois in Passamaquoddy Bay. Surprisingly, Boston’s first Catholic church was built in 1803, nearly 200 years later. Jeff Wanser’s excellent piece on “Granite and Marble Quarrying” (in “Industry, Technology, and Labor” [857-58]) also impressed me. Wanser attributes New Hampshire’s nickname “the Granite State” to the Marquis de Lafayette in 1825, a factoid of particular interest.

I also enjoyed several entries in the section “Images and Ideas.” Any reference to Moxie (730) always cheers me up, although I never particularly liked its taste, and for frugal New England reasons I avoid all such “store-bought” beverages. I searched in vain in the discussion of frugality for the essential old New England chant, “Use it up, wear it out; make it do, do without!” In the 21st century I still abide by this out-of-date maxim, which many now see as anti-American. When the clean water and oil run out I will be back in style! Scott Roper’s “Old Home Day” (783), about an observation officially instituted in 1899, reflects a revitalization effort in “iteration of hometown history, culture, and family” that I also grew up with—but I never realized that it once was a regional phenomenon. I regret that Sally Hoople’s contribution, “Maine Coon Cat” (769), is illustrated with a picture that does not do justice to the breed. In “Amoskeag Manufacturing Company” (832-33), the late Tamara K. Hareven, perhaps the most outstanding authority on this subject and on the city of Manchester, New Hampshire, shows what can be done when an expert writes an entry. Started in 1837 this enterprise became the world’s largest

textile plant complex before its shutdown during the Great Depression. This story of the success of a planned industrial community and its demise is a brilliant contribution to this volume.

The results of my evaluation of entries related to Native Americans were less satisfying than the pleasure I derived from a general reading of this work. Before lamenting the problems in several of the relevant entries, let me comment on a recent “Special Report” in *Nature* (Giles 2005). Giles summarizes the findings from a study comparing the accuracy of entries in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* and the new *Wikipedia*. Some 50 entries that appear in both were sent out to experts to review for errors of fact. Only 42 were returned by these experts, who found an average of three errors for entries in the *Britannica* and four for the *Wikipedia* (see also Johnson 2006). The experts uniformly rated the *Wikipedia* as poorly edited. My impression is that the *Encyclopedia of New England* has a record that is as good as that of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, and may be better written and edited.

Keith N. Morgan’s brief note on “Native Dwellings” in the section on architecture provides an impressive summary of the subject, marred only by the politically correct closing statement referring to the “settlers who nearly obliterated Native Americans in New England” (61). These days I do not see any obvious Quakers or Pilgrims walking these same streets. Using that same logic of visual appearance I could state that these immigrant populations were nearly obliterated by the Indians. Many of us who are descended from Native Americans, perhaps including several contributors to this work, find remarks about our collective disappearance to be patronizing, as if the only real Indians still wear buckskins and feathers.

The inclusion of the biographies of several Native Americans among the entries relating to the natural environment reflects this dated and possibly racist view of these peoples. Only where Native Americans had success in the non-native world and who had adopted European lifeways to any degree “merit” inclusion in “History” or in other sections. For example, the Mohegan named Samson Occum, a capable Presbyterian minister who lived from 1723–1792, is provided an entry in the section on “Religion” (1314). He married Mary Fowler, a member of his Montauk congregation, and had ten children. Joanna Brooks, however, omits any mention of how badly Occum was treated by his Presbyterian overseers, such as being paid less than his “white” counterparts. Perhaps this omission relates to the upbeat tone of these many entries. Louise A. Breen’s introduction to the section on “Religion” provides two pages on missionary activities among the native populations. Breen’s perceptive account, however, plays the fiction of epidemics “that ravaged the native population in the pre- and early contact periods” (1277). Roper’s excellent and poignant entry on a Penobscot, “Sockalexis, Louis Francis ‘Chief’” (1442–43), appears in “Sports and Recreation,” and Dane Morrison’s “Praying Indians” (703) can be found in the “History” section. Unfortunately, Morrison

includes a long paragraph recounting how supposed plagues and severe population reduction that left “severely anomic survivors to find meaning in their plight.” This popular view of native population decline is based on fabulous ideas regarding aboriginal population size, none of which is supported by the archaeological or documentary record.

Keith Morgan’s perceptive summary serves as a useful correction to Pamela Snow’s misperceptions of native gardening as “agriculture” (23), or Suzanna Nyberg’s similar terminological error as repeated in her section on “Horticulture” (44). Neither seems aware of Ceci’s (1975) important paper on the origins of fish fertilization. Even Shepard Krech’s “Native Americans and the Environment” (589–91), in the section on “Geography and Environment,” is replete with myths of extensive native “agriculture” and devastating epidemics that depopulated the region. Dean Snow’s entry in the Geography and Environment section, entitled “Native Americans and the Landscape” (591–92), retains many of the dated ideas from his studies of 25 years ago and adds none of the brilliant insights from his landmark Five Nations Iroquois research (1995). That neither of these two variations on the same theme was placed in the following section, “History,” reflects a dated approach that views Native Americans as part of the natural environment, more closely related to plants and animals than to the descendants of the immigrants who write the histories. In the “Pequot” entry (394), Robert G. Goodby claims that these people were village dwellers native to “much of eastern Connecticut.” Susie Husted (385–86) more accurately notes that, “Like the Pequot, the Mohegan originated in present-day upstate New York” and later moved south. The failure to reconcile various interpretations of this facet of native life may not have been part of the editorial process, but the absence of oversight is jarring to a specialist.

Stephen Cook’s essay, “Native American Art” (161–62), assumes traditional roots for several recent “native” activities that did not exist before the nineteenth century. These modern innovations include the making of the so-called “Wabanaki Root Clubs” (178) that are described by Joan Lester and Stan Neptune. Within a few generations this tourist item has become incorporated into the reconstructed history of a “culture” that did not exist. In fact, many of the authors (449, 655–56, and other pages), and even Colin Calloway (“Abenaki,” [344]), commonly use the term “Wabanaki” and its variant forms as generic glosses for the several tribes originally identified by the collective English designation “Eastern Indians.” The term “Abenaki” was first used, at a very late date, to refer collectively to groups of these Eastern Indians who were trading and/or trapping within the French dominated Huron regions, far to the west of the territories of their individual cultures. A general tendency on the part of many contributors to this volume is to treat all of these native peoples as if they shared a single culture. This is most distressingly evident in the entry “Native American

Dance and Music" (451-52). The problems of homogenizing many native cultures, robbing each of its unique traditions, is a point that I have made previously (Becker 1997). Here Bragdon repeats the process of cultural blurring (655-56) that I find so distressing.

Failure to understand aboriginal native population dynamics appears in many places in this volume, reflecting a general use of this theory by historians as well as anthropologists as a sound bite to explain the complex processes of cultures in contact, while avoiding the more complex and centuries long dynamic that represents the processes that are so well documented in the records. There is more than just a hint of biological inferiority suggested by the "epidemic" theory of supposed population reduction, which is based on the belief that there once were huge native populations in this region. This view may be suited to Hollywood, but certainly not supported by documents and serious scholarship. These unsupported views of Native Americans are largely refuted within the long offering by Bethany Schneider, "Images of Native Americans" (995-98), located in the section on "Literature." Her perceptive essay clearly negates ideas regarding cultural disorganization as a result of "epidemics" and reveals that the "native people had not vanished" (997) but they actually remained vibrant and distinct populations well into the nineteenth century as they gradually merged into the mainstream. On the other hand, Siobhan Senier's essay "Native American Literature" (1010-12), also in this section, conflates relatively modern identities and modern dispersed populations with traditional tribal groups, and adds some fictions regarding early native writing systems that have become embedded in the popular literature. A great number of entries, such as "Native Americans and the Law" (929-32), focus on contemporary issues, often basing evidence on certain fictitious reconstructions of the past.

The specific entries relating to the native peoples that are included within the section on "Ethnic and Racial Identity" tend to be more accurate. The piece on the "Maliseet" by Susie Husted (383) and on the "Paugussett" by Stephen D. Glazier (392-93), and about specific individuals such as Metacom, by Jill Lepore (384), are much more accurate than many of the other entries. Also, are the "Pocasset" noted on page 470 (but not indexed), the same people as the Paugussett, described on pages 392-93? Many of the entries in this section reflect the specific knowledge of scholars who are summarizing extensive knowledge of a specific peoples rather than making politically correct comments in areas where their knowledge is limited or focused on recent political history. This may be the case with Donna M. Cassidy's paragraph on Native American art (116), in her introduction to the "Art" section. This incorporates more than its share of errors and fails to mention the important seventeenth-century portrait of the Narragansett (or Niantic) known as Ninigret, now in the collections of the Rhode Island School of Design. This may be the first formal portrait

of a Native American painted in this region. The existence of this painting seems to negate Cassidy's perceptions of the appearances of Native Americans in the art of New England (117).

W. Jeffrey Bolster's two paragraphs on native mariners (1047), tucked into his long introduction to "Maritime New England," offers only a glimpse of an important aspect of native life in this coastal region. Connections between seafaring members of many of the New England tribes extended to the middle Atlantic coast and the Caribbean, as well as to Hawaii and the Pacific Islands. Despite Herman Melville's efforts, the maritime dispersal of New England's native sailors in the fishing industry, the whaling trades, and shipping in general remains vastly underestimated. Related to this point is the limited space given to museums that often were funded by whale oil money! The Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Harvard's famed Peabody Museum and its sibling at Yale, and all the other world class institutions of New England are described in an essay on "Museums" that fills less than a single page of text (1079-80). That none merits a separate entry reflects the tone of the entire encyclopedia in which the attractive area of "Northwestern Connecticut" merits nearly two full columns. These observations reflect, of course, the concerns of an academic who has a particular interest in Native American material culture. For the general public this volume, with its extraordinary range of subjects, holds the answers to questions that many of us never even think of asking. That is exactly what a reference work such as this is supposed to do. Regardless of where in the country you may be located, your local public and academic library should consider putting this volume on its shelves.

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Out of the Blue

A Journey through the World's Oceans

by Paul Horseman

Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2005

160pp. Introduction, Maps, Appendices, Further Reading, Index

\$29.95 (cloth), ISBN 0-262-08341-8.

**Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Alan L. Chan,
Hong Kong, SAR, China**

Paul Horseman is an enthusiastic marine biologist whose book, *Out of the Blue: A Journey through the World's Oceans*, is a demonstration of his interests and specialties. The title of this book is derived from the fact that approximately seventy percent of our planet earth is under water, and the blueness of the earth is the reflection of the ocean water observed from space. Additionally, about half of the world's people make their homes within a short distance of the sea. Therefore, the oceans are closely connected with us humans and play an important role in our livelihood. The subtitle, *A Journey through the World's Oceans*, represents Horseman's ambitious attempt to present his knowledge, findings, and interesting facts in relation to our oceans in a systematic, thematic structure. This book also further defines his concerns of our oceans as an ecologist. With the help of 180 vivid and colorful pictures, Horseman leads us into this oceanic exploration in print.

Horseman begins his book with an introduction and description of plankton, the very foundation of the marine food chain. He then provides an interesting report of the migration of whales, turtles, salmon, and sharks. Next he explains the diverse forms of corals and atolls and the discovery of deep-sea coral forests in various areas of the world, and reveals the livelihood of the fish, whales, dolphins, porpoises, seals, and many less-familiar creatures that dwell in the abysses (below 5,000 feet) of the oceans. The author also explores the recently found unusual marine ecosystems of the volcanic mid-ocean ridge and the Sargasso seaweed in the central-western Atlantic.

I personally find a section entitled "Lights in the Darkness" to be most fascinating. In the world's oceans, daylight cannot reach to great depths. Therefore, it seems to follow that the ocean's floors must be enshrouded in complete darkness. As Horseman explains, this assumption is not true. It is widely known that there are flashes and even constant light emitted from creatures living there. The author not only further explains this bioluminescence, but also suggests several reasons for their exhibition of light: a lure for prey, a sign of warning, a defense or an escape mechanism, friendly mutual identification, and sexual display for mating.

Horseman also examines the human factors that, directly or indirectly, adversely affect the ecosystem of the oceans. These factors include, but are not limited to, the rapid depletion of world fisheries, pollution in various forms, and climatic changes. The author proposes that oceans, like the atmosphere, are global in nature and in essence. Without national borders or jurisdictions, ocean currents flow around the world. Thus, the activities of one particular region can have worldwide effects. He asks us to consider a question (148): “What can be done to ensure [that] the ocean world is protected?”

The author does not stop here. He suggests that being good stewards of the oceans is important to the health of the planet, and suggests ways by which to promote good stewardship. First, he reminds us to reduce our waste, both personal and/or industrial, and reuse and recycle if at all possible. Second, national and international regulations need to be imposed upon exploitation of natural resources, particularly of fisheries and of oil, the latter of which can have tremendous impacts on ocean ecosystems when it is mined offshore. Third, marine reserves in vital locations should be established. Finally, Horseman brings an acute awareness of a “global commons” approach to the oceans. This means a comprehensive and international approach to the protection of the oceans and deep-sea ecosystems from the full spectrum of human activities and impacts (150).

This book of 160 pages is by no means meant to be a comprehensive report of all the facts related to all the oceans in the world because the massive and deep bodies of water are still considered to be virtually untouched frontier territories. New sightings and discoveries of new creatures are reported in each additional exploration to the bottom of the sea. As a matter of fact, *Out of the Blue: A Journey through the World's Oceans* undoubtedly serves as an exceptional introduction to the understanding of the oceans as habitats for many marine species and ecological issues in relation to human agencies.

Culture in Practice

Selected Essays

by Marshall Sahlins

New York: Zone Books, 2000

646pp. Tables, Figures, Maps, Notes, Bibliographic References, Index

\$42.95 (cloth), ISBN 0-942299-37-X

\$26.95 (paper), ISBN 0-942299-38-8

**Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Robert C. Chidester,
University of Michigan**

In *Culture in Practice*, Marshall Sahlins has collected some of his most famous and influential scholarly works alongside a selection of popular (and less widely known) political essays. Divided into three sequential sections titled "Culture," "Practice," and "Culture in Practice," Sahlins has laid out the path of his career in a tome that, while hefty indeed, nevertheless provides an excellent summary for those unfamiliar with his long and distinguished record of anthropological scholarship.

Rather than merely assembling a self-congratulatory collection, Sahlins put these essays together in the way he did for a purpose: to illustrate the effects of biography and political context on scholarly production. The first section of the book, "Culture," consists of four essays and a short play that cover the theoretical issues that concerned Sahlins during the 1960s and early 1970s, namely the relationship between cultural meaning and material circumstances. The first chapter, titled "African Nemesis," is an amusing attempt to provide, in dramatic form, an anthropological rebuttal of dramatist Robert Ardrey's campaign in the 1960s to popularize the idea of humankind's inescapable "animal nature." Using characters that are thinly veiled references to famous paleoanthropologists and to Ardrey himself, Sahlins deftly pokes holes in Ardrey's argument by pointing out the one thing humans have achieved that no other animal species has: culture. Returning to a more conventional academic style, the next two chapters, "Poor Man, Rich Man, Big Man, Chief" and "The Original Affluent Society," are exercises in comparative ethnology. Both chapters illustrate Sahlins's contention that culture is just as important as environment, if not more so, in the development of society. "Poor Man, Rich Man" contrasts Polynesian and Melanesian political types to show that even in very similar environments, cultural orders can develop very differently; while in "The Original Affluent Society," Sahlins demolishes the long-held view among anthropologists that hunter-gatherer societies live on the brink of starvation and that modern "developed" economic systems provide more leisure time than subsistence economies. Chapter Four,

“Colors and Cultures,” is a more abstract investigation of the determining force of symbolic meaning in the form of a critique of the book *Basic Color Terms* (Berlin and Kay 1969). In this book, Berlin and Kay had purported to demonstrate that the recognition of color distinctions follows a universal evolutionary development. Attempting to cut the sociobiologists off at the pass, however, Sahlins argues that the order of distinctions outlined by Berlin and Kay can be explained logically by reference to the demands of symbolic ordering of the world, and asserts no actual influence in determining the symbolic meanings ascribed to any given color by any given culture. The final chapter in this first section, “La Pensee Bourgeoise,” represents Sahlins’s first attempt (to be followed up in Section Three) to turn the anthropological gaze on Western society. Specifically, Sahlins returns to Marx’s theories on the reproduction of society to outline the way in which the supposedly utilitarian ordering of capitalist economies is actually culturally determined, and, in fact, is no more “rational” than other, “less developed” cultures.

Section Two, “Practice,” contains four political essays on the subject of the Vietnam War. While these essays are of less scholarly interest than those in the first and third sections, the purpose for their inclusion in this volume is, according to Sahlins, to demonstrate the personal causes for his shift from a focus on theory (represented by the essays in the first section) to a more “concrete” engagement with history and ethnography (represented by the essays in the third section). The most important essay in Section Two, in terms of historical interest, is Chapter Six, “The Future of the National Teach-In: A History.” This article (originally commissioned by the *New York Times Magazine* in 1965 but never published) recounts Sahlins’s experiences in organizing the very first teach-in at the University of Michigan, and how this one small event cascaded into a national phenomenon of academic protest against the Vietnam War. (Teach-ins are still periodically held on university campuses, for instance in protest against the current Iraq War, but seem to have lost much of the impact that they once had.) The remaining three essays, all originally written in the mid- to late 1960s, explore the destructive aspects of American involvement in Vietnam: the destruction of American idealism (Chapter Seven, “The Peace Offensive and the Ky Regime”), of the American moral high ground (Chapter Eight, “The Destruction of Conscience in Vietnam”), and of academic freedom (Chapter Nine, “The Established Order: Do Not Fold, Spindle, or Mutilate,” about the Defense Department’s Project Camelot).

The final section, “Culture in Practice,” is the longest, with seven chapters. In contrast to the essays in Section One, which were almost entirely theoretical, the essays in this section combine theory with primary evidence, both ethnographic and historical. This section illustrates the two themes for which Sahlins will be best remembered: the interdependence

of structure and event (or alternatively, of history and culture) and the “indigenization of modernity” (275). Chapters Ten (“Individual Experience and Cultural Order”) and Eleven (“The Return of the Event, Again”) are explicit arguments for the engagement of anthropology (structure) with history (event); Chapter Eleven introduces Sahlins’s most famous theoretical contribution to anthropology, the notion of the “structure of the conjuncture,” or the ways in which culture is dependent on history and vice versa. The next two chapters, “The Discovery of the True Savage” and “Cosmologies of Capitalism: The Trans-Pacific Sector of the World System,” retain a historical focus but begin the shift towards the second theme of the section as they illustrate the ways in which various Pacific cultures, far from being swallowed up by the modern (Western) world order in the nineteenth century, instead incorporated capitalist values and relations into their own cultural orders in a process of indigenous development. “Goodbye to *Tristes Tropes*” (Chapter Fourteen) and “What Is Anthropological Enlightenment?” (Chapter Fifteen) are extended polemics against the received anthropological notion that indigenous cultures are “disappearing;” Sahlins argues instead that the indigenization of modernity (from chapters Twelve and Thirteen) is opening up whole new vistas for anthropological research. The final chapter, “The Sadness of Sweetness; or, The Native Anthropology of Western Cosmology” is a historical take on the same subject covered in Chapter Five, namely, the cultural specificity of supposedly “rational” Western society.

Culture in Practice is an excellent collection for those who are unfamiliar with Sahlins’s work, as it does indeed summarize his most important contributions to anthropology. Sahlins has been criticized in the past for reading historical sources too naively—for not taking into consideration the contexts of their production. The resulting analyses, however, are always quite convincing, and I will leave it up to the reader to decide for him- or herself how large a problem this represents. It should be noted, too, that this is not a complete record of Sahlins’s career. There are no selections representing his earliest work as a cultural evolutionist/ecologist, and his Marxist tendencies, while not hidden, are not explicitly addressed in the Introduction or the introductions to the individual sections. Thus, this collection represents the way that Sahlins would like to be remembered perhaps more than it is a representative overview of his career.

Beyond its usefulness for anthropology students at any level of study, this volume also holds some value for scholars of material culture. While Sahlins does not explicitly address material culture as a domain of study separate from culture in general, chapters Four, Five, Twelve and Thirteen in particular use material culture to illustrate the ways in which the coming of capitalism to non-Western societies did not so much destroy those societies as provide them with new ways to accomplish traditional cultural goals. Thus, his approach to the combined cultural and historical context of

the material world and its appropriation by specific cultural orders within varied realms of symbolic meaning holds vast potential for material culture studies. Furthermore, his insights on the impact of socio-political and biographical context on the production of knowledge are valid and important for any field of cultural study. Overall, *Culture in Practice* is an excellent (if somewhat biased) introduction to the work of one of anthropology's most influential and original thinkers of the past 60 years.

Reference Cited

Berlin, B., and P. Kay. 1969. *Basic Color Terms: Their universality and evolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Shot at and Missed

Recollections of a World War II Bombardier

by Jack R. Myers

Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005

320 pp. Photographs, Maps.

\$19.95 (paper), ISBN: 0-8061-3695-2

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Mark J. Crowley, Cardiff University

Jack R. Myers's autobiographical account *Shot at and Missed* will undoubtedly prove to be an excellent addition to the vast amounts of literature pertaining to soldiers' experiences during the Second World War. The considerable increase in the publication of former servicemen's memoirs reflects the greater emphasis that is now placed within historiographical discourse on the significance of oral history to the interpretative historian, and its usefulness to history as a discipline. Moreover, the benefits that this accords to the reader with a general interest in the history of World War II cannot be underestimated. In this case, Myers's account is no exception, and his vivid accounts of life as a bombardier are brought to life in this compelling account. Every serviceman has a different story to tell in relation to their wartime experience, and Myers's experiences and thoughts are brought together in a concise, witty and informative account of his career as part of the B-17 Bombardiers.

Written in a very accessible, and on occasions, almost colloquial style, Myers retells the numerous stories which fundamentally affected his experiences as a World War II bombardier. However, anyone hoping for an account exposing the "darker side" of war to the detriment of the "glorious memories" of battle would be somewhat disappointed. Myers' stories and descriptions do very little to redress the common trend in autobiographical

accounts, where the emphasis placed on the great camaraderie between the fighting forces, and the antipathy felt towards the Officers in Command is a regular feature. However, on the occasions where vivid descriptions of battle and its fallout are necessary, Myers successfully paints the picture of destruction, and highlights his feelings clearly. Describing the scene in Hungary, he states unequivocally “The feel of death was in the air. I started shaking and I had to look away to control my emotions. There was an unusual sweet, sickening smell coming from the area. My stomach felt like someone had punched me in the guts” (73). However, these references are quickly counterbalanced by humorous stories relating to the experiences at Army barracks, or the jokes shared between the soldiers following the excitement of battle. Myers’s emphasis on humor is significant, and this emphasizes its importance as a method of self-preservation in a period of vast destruction and bloodshed.

No account of a soldier’s wartime experience would be complete, it could be argued, without the reference to romantic liaisons. Myers declares his admiration for the beauty of Italian women, and effectively reflects how his perception of European women was different from that he had of the American women to which he was obviously familiar. However, the deeper meaning conveyed in the numerous passing observations made by Myers in relation to this in effect reflects the necessary cultural adjustments that were necessary for survival as part of his role in the American bombardiers. A successful soldier not only needed to be effective in combat, but also needed to integrate with the population that he had become a part of by virtue of his wartime role. The difficulties, nevertheless, are always relieved by the humorous stories of drunken liaisons, and his somewhat tense relationship with Commander Ruhlin. The humor at this stage of the story is largely created by the emphasis placed on the contrast between Ruhlin and Myers, the former who exuded supreme confidence in many ways, especially with his ability to attract women, the latter who proved to be somewhat less confident, but ultimately more successful, with many of the jokes proving largely to be at Ruhlin’s expense.

The timely and appropriate addition of photographs—essential primary source material, to Myers’s story substantiates the claims he makes throughout. This also helps the non-specialist, especially in terms of the frequent references to aircraft, to understand and visualize the airplanes and scenes to which World War II soldiers were subjected during combat.

The success of this account largely rests with Myers’s ability to achieve the successful balance between retelling the horrors of wartime experience but also emphasizing the many humorous times which largely emanated as a consequence of the friendships acquired along the way. Emotion is conveyed frequently throughout, with the emphasis in the early stages largely placed on the fear, trepidation and ultimate adrenalin rushes created by planned attacks on enemy targets. This is then counterbalanced by the

emotional rollercoaster, largely as a consequence of the distance between himself, which meant that communication with his family remained limited. The euphoria, symptomatic of a cathartic release, is evident at the end of Myers's story, created by the knowledge that after all the dangers, fears and near-death experiences, the war had been won. Nevertheless, he conveys effectively his gratitude that he managed to emerge from the war alive to tell his story. Many of his colleagues had been killed, and other had been captured by the Germans and placed in prisoner-of-war camps. Myers conveys his horror at the condition with which one of his colleagues had been left after persecution by the Germans, and states: "It took him an hour to get control of himself. After considering every alternative, he decided that sooner or later he would meet someone who would help him, shoot him, or turn him over to the Germans. So, rather than delay the agony, he decided to approach the cabin and suffer the consequences" (288). The epilogue is a timely conclusion to Myers's story, and at this stage, he highlights the benefits of retrospective analysis to his experiences.

Such is the detailed nature of this account, Myers's story will undoubtedly be of considerable importance to both historians examining the use and reliability of oral history, and the general reader alike. His compelling style, together with his ability to retell stories in a vivid and imaginative way ensures that the reader's attention is maintained throughout. If Myers is not yet famous for his literary prowess, then this may prove to be the catalyst to facilitate this latest accolade!

Inventing the Cotton Gin

Machine and Myth in Antebellum America

by Angela Lakwete

Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2003.

230pp. Illustrations, Notes, Bibliographic Essay, Index

\$25.00 (cloth) ISBN 0-8018-7394-0.

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Twyla Dell, Antioch New England Graduate School

In *Inventing the Cotton Gin*, author Angela Lakwete describes the evolution of the cotton gin in America and attempts to dispel the myths surrounding it. To do this satisfactorily the author has covered the entire history of cotton gins from the first century of the Common Era forward to bring us to the shores of America in 1607 and a fledgling cotton industry in the colonies. Cotton gins had been part of almost every culture throughout the centuries as people tried with only minimal success to separate seed from fiber. This detailed history speaks to the point implied in the word

“myth” in the title. While Eli Whitney is said by many historians to have invented the cotton gin from scratch in 1796 in Georgia, this book shows that clearly, he did not.

What it does show is that Whitney invented a new principle of separation that increased both quantity and quality of yield or outturn. Until his invention, two wooden rollers had been used to squeeze the seed out of the fiber, employing what was called the “pinch principle.” Whitney invented the saw gin to separate the seeds with metal teeth, an admittedly new concept. From that point forward gin makers proliferated across the landscape adding modifications on both the old and the new principles powered by slaves, animals, water and wind and eventually adding steam power in the 1850s. A second part of the myth was that because Whitney, a Northerner, had created the gin, he had single-handedly raised the South from the incredibly primitive method of removing seeds one at a time by hand and given them an industry that both gave the South prosperity, and expanded slavery to its fullest extent, thus leading to the Civil War.

What Lakwete wants us to know about the evolution of the cotton gin is its complexity, its dependence on multiple factors and personalities and its veracity to set the historical record straight. Her approach is to stick to the gin makers and their incremental changes like a cotton seed sticks to the fiber. She could very easily have wandered into biographies of inventors, the varieties of cotton plants, the economic dislocations created by greater increase of crops and processing, the industrialization of slave labor, and even the politics of the pre-Civil War period, the conflict for which some historians have blamed the cotton gin. Lakwete’s talent is in touching on these throughout the narrative as they affect the evolution of the gin, but by sticking to the gin itself she avoids the byways that might distract an author less devoted to her purpose. While the book is not casual reading, Lakwete keeps it moving with active voice, interesting details about the people involved, and simple descriptions of changes to the basic concept of the gin, that, though detailed, become necessary to tell the difference between one and another gin.

The dance, so to speak, between blaming the gin and blaming the cotton for the problems of production is interesting in itself. As gins became more and more complex and cotton was adapted for its use and vice versa, whatever slowed down either quantity or quality was a subject of intense debate and further innovation. These many small changes would appear to have kept legions of gin makers industriously working for the greater part of the nineteenth century until all inefficiencies were eventually vanquished. A read of this book will force anyone to appreciate the dogged dedication of these inventors lured by profits and the challenge of solving a knotty problem. The result of their efforts was to move a cotton grower’s production from about a hundred pounds a day or a quarter of a bale in the 1790s using the roller gin or pinch principle, to six or more bales a day by

the 1850s using steam engines and large-scale saw gins. Such an advance had been hard won.

Lakwete's research has been in a variety of primary resources, not the least of which are patent descriptions, that allow both inventors and their machines to tell their own story. She has done an excellent job of weaving together an amazingly complex series of events in a straightforward and interesting manner. The voices of those men from the trenches of invention and cotton processing add the color needed to keep the narrative moving. Multiple illustrations show the very slow and tedious route that the invention took to its inevitable design perfection. A brief description of that at the end of the book would have been a welcomed reward for the diligent reader, but the author's primary purpose was to correct the misrepresentation of Whitney as the sole inventor of the gin by telling the story of multiple inventions and inventors, and by defusing the argument that the invention of the gin led to the Civil War, and that she did quite well.

Art of the Ancestors

Antique North American Indian Art

by George Everett Shaw

Aspen: Aspen Art Museum, 2004

180pp. Illustrations, Bibliographic References

\$65.00 (cloth), ISBN 0-93324-33-6

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Kelly Denzer, University of St. Thomas

Art volumes tend to be either heavy on description and technique or heavy on illustration, "coffee table" books. *Art of the Ancestors* fits in the latter category. The oversize format of the book allows for stunning color illustrations, and the numerous examples allow the reader a good overview of the significant artwork by North American Indian tribes. Essays briefly introduce the topic to the reader, who then are able to leisurely page through the striking images of the art, noticing intricate details by the artist, and the evidence of wear and tear on the objects, as most were utilitarian.

Art of the Ancestors features American Indian objects from 200 BC to 1930, many of which have never been published before this. Shaw is an art dealer and curator who specializes in antique American Indian objects and he chose pieces for the book based on their visual power and whose artistry "approaches perfection" (9). The book is divided into three groups of Native American Indian art, and each is introduced in an essay by a leading scholar in that geographic area followed by beautiful color illustrations with

a short but deeper look into a variety of pieces by Shaw or the scholar of that area.

Benson L. Lanford introduces the first section of the book in his essay on the Plains tribes and the Eastern Woodlands. The Plains refer to the southern half of the central Canadian provinces, south through the central United States to the northern areas of Texas and New Mexico. The Eastern Woodlands extend south through the United States along the Mississippi River and east into the Allegheny and Smoky Mountain ranges.

Shaw's illustrations and Lanford's essay focus on objects made with hide such as shirts, dresses, moccasins, and bags. Lanford discusses the nomadic life of the Plains tribes explaining heavy objects were kept to a minimum, and little work was done in stone (18). Rawhide and native-tanned hide were the popular medium and flourishes include bird or porcupine quills and later glass beads made available through European and American traders.

Incredible detail is shown in all the pieces chosen by Shaw to represent the Plains and Eastern Woodlands. For example, the "Kiowa Girl's Dress," circa 1885 (27), imparts a sense of extensive planning by the artist in order to achieve the cut and delicate design of the beadwork and the forethought that went in to collecting the dozens of elk teeth used for decoration. The artist of this Southern Plains tribe combined beadwork, cutting techniques, dye, and teeth embellishments to create an amazing young girl's garment.

The essay by Steven C. Brown on the Northwest Coast of British Columbia and Alaska is an interesting and comprehensive look at the people and art of the area. Brown discusses home styles, food resources, social hierarchies and ceremonial traditions of the tribes. This background enables the reader to understand the motivation or meaning for the art on the subsequent pages. I found this essay to be the best of the three, and in addition to the informative explanations, Brown mentions specific pieces and includes their page number for the reader to refer to the illustration while reading about them.

Brown discusses the materials available to the artist and the technique used to create various pieces. The hulls of the Northwest Coast canoes were made of Western red cedar trees and sculpted by skilled artisans. The canoes were known as "dugouts" (67). Brown goes on to describe the fishing and food collecting along the river ways by these seafaring people and their trade with the distant tribes, made possible by the well-built canoes.

Shaw includes incredible examples of early Old Bering Sea carvings by the Siberian Yup'ik on the upper Alaskan peninsula. Ivory snow goggles (circa AD 300-500), carved to imitate human eyes and nose were used to prevent snow blindness (92). Again, Brown includes in this portion of his essay a helpful background into the culture and materials of the people.

The third section of the book focuses on the Southwest and California tribes with an essay by Bill Mercer. The subject is vast and Mercer's essay is a brief introduction in Southwest art. He discusses basket weaving with local plant materials, textile weaving with cotton grown by the Hohokam in southern Arizona, Navajo chief's blankets, and pottery. The artists of these regions use simple geometric motifs throughout their work, often repeated to create complex designs (102). Shaw included numerous examples of baskets and pottery for the reader to see the incredible designs and intricate weavings.

Several kachina dolls are included in the illustrations. They are native to the Southwest and depict supernatural beings, considered to be intermediaries between the earthly and spiritual realms, kachina dolls are believed to visit the pueblos and participate in ceremonies. They are responsible for answering prayers and "bring life, pleasure, and blessings to the community" (105). Shaw includes a good variety of dolls from different tribes illustrating the various decorating techniques from paint to full dress in cloth or leather.

"California is the most diverse American Indian cultural area," though baskets are the only art form Mercer discusses in this brief introduction (105). They look similar to the Southwest baskets in that they also use symmetrical shapes and balanced designs. Included in the illustrations is an incredible example from the Yokuts, a tribe who lived along the Sierra Nevada foothills of central California. It is a flat circular basket dated top approximately 1900 and features a symmetrical geometric design and male figures tightly woven to produce a beautiful and functional piece of art (116).

Art of the Ancestors is lavishly illustrated and is priceless in that it brings work never before published to a wide audience. This book is not for someone looking for a comprehensive discussion of North American Indian art. Rather, the illustrations dominate this volume and could be improved on in only one aspect; the detail views of select pieces are thumbprint size. Though the layout on the page is visually appealing, the reader would benefit more if the details were larger and the description accompanying the detail photos were more extensive. That being said, I could page through these beautiful illustrations for hours.

Common Place

Toward Neighborhood and Regional Design

by Douglas Kelbaugh

Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997
x+334pp. Tables, Maps, Illustrations, Appendices, Bibliography, Index.
\$35.00 (paper), ISBN 0-295-97590-3

**Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Steven L. Driever, University of
Missouri-Kansas City**

If you are not familiar with the term “New Urbanism,” you will be, sooner probably rather than later. Do you reside in an older neighborhood? If you answer “yes,” get ready for infill development in some nearby commercial or office area or even in some residential parcels in your neighborhood; the developer will want to increase the existing density of land use and will justify it on the grounds that those sites are “underutilized.” He or she will claim that such redevelopment reduces urban sprawl and overdependence on the automobile, saving farmland and forests. The up-zoned site will generate handsome profits for the developer; meanwhile if the infill is not attractive (as in the case of dormitory-like, four-story row houses) or at an appropriate scale with its surroundings (for example, an eight-story glass and steel office big box), nearby residents of a low-density subdivision may find their property values suddenly going into a nose dive.

Common Place: Toward Neighborhood and Regional Design is all about New Urbanism, a concept that has been around almost twenty years, but with which the public is little familiar. Author Douglas Kelbaugh, currently Dean of the College of Architecture and Urban Planning at the University of Michigan and formerly Chair of the Department of Architecture at the University of Washington, is one of the pioneers in New Urbanism. He and Peter Calthorpe developed the pedestrian pocket and transit-oriented development ideas back in the late 1980s. Here Kelbaugh pulls together all the New Urbanism innovations into one book that is intended to show planners, urban designers, developers, environmentalists, citizens, and government officials how to limit urban sprawl with denser development that is pleasing to the eye, compatible with its surroundings, and sustainable. He approaches planning from a three-dimensional perspective and, at least in theory, he is sensitive to scale and respects the unique attributes of place.

The volume is divided into three parts: theory, design, and policy. The section on theory begins with a marshalling of information to bolster Kelbaugh’s thesis that we need a new paradigm of “city making.” The new paradigm itself rests on “critical regionalism” and “typology.” In explaining the former, Kelbaugh argues for a sense of place to replace modernism,

where form follows function in unattractive, abstract buildings that can be found all over the globe by now; postmodernism, where the building façade, eclecticism, and historicism are used to counter modernism's sterility; and deconstructivism, with its twisting and contorted buildings that seem to assault the surrounding city. Kelbaugh resolves the deconstructivist impasse with what he calls "critical regionalism," each region having its own architecture (at least in smaller buildings) that respects site, climate, and tradition. This architecture, in turn, will reflect certain "types" that serve as templates that can be reproduced over and over with many variations: the Georgian townhouse, the New England "salt box," the Italian palazzo, etc. The types connect the critical regionalism to global patterns and give it meaning in the larger built environment.

The second part of the book is on design and consists of a discussion and analysis of charrette proposals and some follow-up studio designs by University of Washington students and professors. The author includes six potential infill development proposals/designs for the Seattle region—two on center city, one on an urban neighborhood, two on the suburbs, one on a small town on Bainbridge Island—and two stand-alone development proposals/designs, one for a new-town-out-of town and the other for a new-town-in-town. This part of the book is uneven, reflecting the nature of charrettes, which are short, design workshops (lasting usually a couple of days to a week) in which competitive teams, often with very different philosophies about the city and urban design, fashion proposals presented in a public forum. A charrette proposal may be adopted for implementation, but usually, at most, it leads to a more formal studio design. Depending on the design team, a proposal may or may not reflect the theories and principles elucidated in the first part of the book.

Nevertheless, the charrettes and design studios are interesting even if one has little familiarity with the Seattle area because they reveal how difficult it is to put the ideals of New Urbanism into practice: none of the proposal designs were implemented on the ground. In fact, one can imagine the backroom wheeling and dealing of city elites and almost hear the public outcry resulting from most of the proposals. For example, one center-city charrette dealt with possible infill development in the four-block parking lot north of the Kingdome. Despite some attractive proposals such as converting it into a civic square, a Public Facility District Board decided instead that the site was better suited for a new baseball stadium. The proposed ballpark, endorsed by Kelbaugh, would have no doubt involved the expenditure of considerable public tax monies for the benefit of a private sports organization, but it was not realized either. The Interbay Charrette, the proposed new-town-in-town, was to develop a port and railroad maritime-landfill site tucked between two mainly single-family-dwelling communities. Such landfill, by the way, is subject to severe liquefaction during earthquakes. This charrette yielded some attractive low rise

proposals (buildings no more than four stories), but a subsequent design studio headed by Kelbaugh dramatically increased the proposed density by including two office towers of 20 stories, residential towers of ten to fifteen storeys, and the kinds of commercial buildings that one has come to expect with newer developments along metropolitan beltways. The inevitable protests arising from the citizens in the flanking suburban communities are not discussed.

The third part of the book on policy is an essay in which the author argues for immediate adoption of seven policies: enforce tight urban growth boundaries by infilling and redeveloping existing centers and towns; reduce vehicle miles traveled by stopping public subsidies for the automobile; build a regional transit system that utilizes many modes of transportation; develop urban design guidelines and neighborhood plans to supplement the required comprehensive plans; allow detached garage apartments and other detached accessory units to provide low-cost housing; require government funding to support a more balanced modal split (that is, more transit, bicycling, and walking to reduce car mileage); and reconfigure government, now weighted toward municipalities with dated and seemingly arbitrary boundaries, to empower neighborhoods and regions as planning and decision-making units. Although these policies may seem sound and necessary for the future survival of the city, they are not without controversy. For example, the first policy already has entailed the use of eminent-domain condemnation of private property for the benefit of private interests promising more intense development that generates greater tax revenues. Not only do the owners of the condemned property forfeit the right to their properties, but the value of property in the shadow of dense infill declines. The use of government to transfer real property wealth from citizens to private commercial interests may seem beyond the pale to many readers, but Kelbaugh derides “property rightists” and maintains that they should not be compensated for diminished property values: “if we compensate land owners for every loss, then we should tax them for every gain” (297).

Common Place is attractively produced on gloss paper and liberally illustrated. Kelbaugh’s prose is scholarly but readable and exhibits an intellectual breadth seldom found in volumes on urban design. For anyone concerned with how to limit urban sprawl and correct some of the obvious flaws with urbanization in the US, this book is essential reading. In the end, however, the reader will come away with a more critical perspective on New Urbanism and the motives of its proponents and will likely develop a more sympathetic appreciation of its opponents.

Newcomers to Old Towns

Suburbanization of the Heartland

by Sonya Salamon

Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003

xv+245pp. Tables, Maps, Illustrations, Appendices, Bibliographic References, Index.

\$39.00 (cloth) ISBN 0-226-73412-9

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Steven L. Driever University of Missouri-Kansas City

Sonya Salamon is a distinguished rural sociologist who took ten years to complete the writing of *Newcomers to Old Towns*, a nice follow-up of her first book, *Prairie Patrimony: Family, Farming, and Community in the Midwest* (Salamon 1992). Whereas the first volume deals with how the cultural values of farm families of German versus Yankee (British and Scottish) descent affect farming, farm ownership, and community, *Newcomers to Old Towns* explores the social and physical transformation of agrarian towns (physical dimensions of place) and communities (social relationships attached to place). Although this latest book is an award-winning work, it is not an exhaustive discourse on the subject. The field work in support of the ethnographic case studies was completed largely by graduate students (recognized as collaborators) doing household surveys, follow-up interviews, and participant observation. There is no community-level analysis of institutions, except as they are experienced by the individuals surveyed. Moreover, the survey sample sizes are rather small in two of the case studies. The field work was completed before 1995 and the census data used as a benchmark is primarily from 1990. Figure One gives the approximate location of the six towns studied and of nearby small cities. As each of the six central-Illinois towns (all given pseudonyms) is depicted with a street map, it would not be insurmountable to determine the real identities. There are ten photos, but they are placed mid-book and are generic, depicting different physical and social aspects of small towns. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the book is the many quotations of comments by the individual residents on old timers, newcomers, and community issues of great concern such as local elections or saving schools.

This volume is conveniently divided into three parts: Part One, "Changes in the Heartland," nicely sets the stage with a discussion of the traditional agrarian town and community and the ways they have been restructured in the last several decades. Salamon finds that diverse people are moving into small rural towns and that though residing there, they have little connection with such places. Rather, they work, shop, attend school, and obtain services elsewhere. The towns continue to be located in a productive agricultural landscape, but they are increasingly focused on small cities up

to 60 miles away like an archipelago extending from the mainland. When the newcomers cluster in their own new subdivisions, which is usually the case, their neighborhoods are suburban exclaves in which material possessions replace social relations as a measure of the person.

The six towns are qualitatively analyzed from four complementary perspectives: attributes of place and space, interconnectedness of social networks, access to social resources, and relations between youth and adults. The investigation of space and place teases out the main differences between the old timers and the new arrivals. The former are egalitarian, communitarian, and tolerant of youths' peccadilloes; they create an inclusive place where all can feel that they somehow fit in and contribute to the larger good. The new arrivals, on the other hand, emphasize material consumption, exude class consciousness, and disregard youth except for their schooling. The discussion of interconnectedness further reveals the different lifestyles of the two groups. The old timers are embedded in imbricate small worlds of kin, neighbors, friends, and other networks. The newcomers have few connections to the towns, except possibly for churches (and theirs tend not to be involved with the secular welfare of the community) and schools (if the newcomers have children enrolled). Salamon believes that the traditional agrarian community generates a great deal of social capital, which, in turn, helps ensure that the children develop into well-adjusted, secure, and talented youth. The newcomers ensconced in their suburban niches are, according to the author, sojourners preoccupied with maintaining their own comfortable lifestyle; their children tend to be marginalized and, not surprisingly, alienated from any community except that of peers.

Although certain themes are repeated throughout the study, the towns discussed in Part Two, "Newcomers to Old Towns," have their own characters. Smallville (Chapter Three) is an aging town in west-central Illinois where the residents still cling to the ideals of the agrarian community and work diligently so that their little piece of traditional rural life survives. Prairieview (Chapter Four), relatively close to the small city magnet dubbed Central City (quite likely Urbana) and graced with an attractive physical setting, is the town most transformed into a postagrarian suburban outpost. Bunkerton (Chapter Five) is an economically struggling county seat where lower-middle class and blue-collar newcomers live in the original town interspersed among old timers. Cornatown (Chapter Six) has experienced a settling-out of Mexican migrants since the 1970s. Although the "settled outs" tend to congregate in an area dubbed "Little Mexico," near the manufacturing plants, they are well accepted as they are similar in class and civic-mindedness to the old timers. Arbordale (Chapter Seven) also has settled out Mexican migrants, but here the proportion to the old timer population is much greater (32 percent in 2000), which has tended to cut the community into two mutually exclusive parts. Splitville

(Chapter Eight) is a dying post-agrarian town where newcomers, who are working poor attracted to inexpensive housing, are in conflict with old timers over the appearance and thus value of property.

Part Three, “Whither the Rural Heartland?” is a broader treatment of the future of the rural hinterland in America. The author envisions the postagrarian landscape becoming more densely settled as urbanites continue to be attracted to small town life and as small town boosters continue to buy into the idea that any economic growth is good. The urbanites and boosters set the stage for the “growth-machine entrepreneurs” who then transform the agrarian towns into suburban outposts that have homogeneous neighborhoods and serve mainly as a place to sleep. Meanwhile, the old timers see their public spaces carved up to meet the needs of the new subdivisions, their social systems collapsing from the weight of newcomer indifference, and their community identities vanishing. Fortunately, the suburbanization of rural America is not inevitable, and Salamon notes that Smallville, Corntown, Bunkerton, and Arbordale, to varying degrees, offer lessons in how to preserve agrarian values and a sense of community. She cautions, however, that as the old timers are increasingly outnumbered by newcomers, a new shared history must be cultivated so that a sense of community uniqueness, which is critical to place attachment, can emerge. Investment in real community must take precedence over rural growth-machine development if postagrarian communities are to have a culture worth preserving.

Newcomers to Old Towns is an important addition to the ethnography of small Midwestern towns; it will serve as a nice supplemental text and starting point for further dialogue in any number of courses that are concerned with suburbanization and landscape change in rural North America. By the end of this book any reader cannot help but be concerned about the fate of these small towns and will agree with Salamon that “the destruction of small town culture does away with some of what is good about us as a nation” (195).

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Greenbelt, Maryland

A Living Legacy of the New Deal

by Cathy D. Knepper

Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001
xvii+275. Maps, Notes, Bibliographic References, Index
\$39.95 (cloth), ISBN 0-8018-6490-9

**Reviewed for PAS/APAL by J. Brooks Flippen, Southeastern
Oklahoma State University**

Strolling through many of the streets of Greenbelt Maryland, one might not realize the uniqueness of this suburb just outside Washington, DC. Its distinctiveness lies not only in its history as one of the few federally planned towns in the United States, but also in the ideals the town has represented. In this excellent text, Cathy Knepper of Amnesty International and an independent scholar, explores the history of Greenbelt from its genesis in the New Deal through the present. Overcoming generations of challenges, Knepper argues, Greenbelt citizens have maintained the cooperative, community-minded spirit of its founders. The book is, therefore, as much a social history as a political and economic one. Simply put, it is as unique as its subject.

From the first chapter to the last, Knepper's fondness for Greenbelt and symbiotic foundations is obvious. While constructed as a works project along with two other towns, one in Wisconsin and the other in Ohio, Greenbelt had a location just outside the nation's capital; thus, it received special attention from the Roosevelt administration and its first citizens, all of whom perceived the effort as an experiment in collaboration. Eleanor Roosevelt, for one, proved a reliable ally. The people, for their part, worked together in clubs and businesses, encouraged by the bureaucrats. The cooperative grocery store was only the best example.

This situation became increasingly difficult, Knepper explains. World War II meant a flood of new residents and cheap new housing. The government, preoccupied, lost interest. In the subsequent decade, highways cut across the town and essentially divided residents. Green fields and farmland had separated the town from its neighbors, but the growth of Washington swept over Greenbelt just as it did the other surrounding communities. More threatening was the anti-communist McCarthy era, which branded the community as evil socialists or worse, a charge businessmen had leveled since the town's inception but one that now resonated. "Greenbelt's experience with McCarthyism changed the lives of a number of individuals," Knepper writes (100). When one resident, an innocent Jewish employee of the Navy, lost his job as a security risk, the town rallied on his behalf and aided in his ultimate acquittal.

To Knepper's credit, she does not depict Greenbelt as some utopia and acknowledges divisions within its citizenry, the most obvious over financial management. Nevertheless, the people reacted to these challenges with a surprising commitment to the town's traditions. They had no intention of becoming just another patch of indistinguishable sprawl. When newcomers arrived, they were welcomed with parties and information to bring them into the fold. When the government decided to sell the town, the people formed a cooperative, Greenbelt Homes, Inc., to purchase it. They collectively—and not totally successfully—battled developers, and they endured through the turbulent 1960s, weathering potential divisions over the Vietnam War and racial relations. Such fights, perhaps ironically, reinforced their sense of community; it increased their emotional attachment to the ideal. If nothing else, it gave them a forum for debate.

In recent years, Greenbelt citizens have enjoyed celebrating the city's accomplishments, the planning for the festivities just another illustration of their continued commitment to working together. Not everyone shares the same degree of commitment but, if nothing else, "Greenbelt's principles focus on a life of action and involvement" (237). The recent popularity of New Town Developments, Knepper implies, recognizes as much. Such neo-traditional, neo-urban design may result from private and not public investment and may lack a regional approach, but its insistence on higher density, mixed use development revolving around a town center essentially accepts Greenbelt's founding principles.

One might argue that Knepper needs to develop further issues of race and class, although she does venture into some discussion of fair housing. In addition, she might have explored more Greenbelt's impact on private planned developments, which frequently market themselves as "communities." Her research is solid, nevertheless, employing oral histories and a number of manuscript collections, including those in the Roosevelt presidential library and the National Archives. Her favorite sources appear to be local newspapers, which help make her story a narrative. She ties her research together with a fluid writing style; the book is an easy read. As such, it should find a large and general audience. It should prove useful across an array of courses, from American environmental history to civil engineering.

Knepper concludes by noting that Greenbelt—"a town in which planning clearly makes a difference, where foresight creates a place truly enjoyed by its residents" (241)—embraces the ideals of the Depression-era city planner Lewis Mumford, a man ahead of his time. Really, her book successfully implies, these are ideals we all should embrace.

It is, in the end, a point larger than just the story of one town.

The Politics of Fieldwork

Research in an American Concentration Camp

by Lane Ryo Hirabayashi

Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1999

219pp. Preface, Bibliographic Essay

\$19.95 (paper), ISBN 0-8165-1864-5

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Peter J. Gloviczki, St. Olaf College

Lane Ryo Hirabayashi's *The Politics of Fieldwork* is notable for its discussion of the Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study (JERS) which was, according to the author, "the largest nongovernmental research project focusing on the mass incarceration of over 110,000 persons of Japanese descent during World War II" (5). In particular, the author focuses on the research and efforts of Dr. Tamie Tsuchiyama. As Hirabayashi notes in the Preface, Tsuchiyama's work with the JERS was relatively short in duration, lasting only from 1942 until 1945. Despite Tsuchiyama's relatively brief association with the JERS, Hirabayashi makes evident that Tsuchiyama's efforts are nonetheless worthy of examination. In fact, Hirabayashi has collected a host of worthwhile materials, including first-person interviews with Tsuchiyama's sister and details about Tsuchiyama's fieldwork.

Tsuchiyama's perspective is unique because, as Hirabayashi tells us, she "was the only Japanese American woman with professional training in the social sciences to be hired full-time to work as a researcher in the War Relocation Authority camps, all the other Japanese Americans doing fieldwork at this level were men" (5). It is this personal connection, as a Japanese American woman, that makes Tsuchiyama's participation in this project particularly worth reading. The reader comes away with a unique understanding of what it is like, for Tsuchiyama, to conduct research within this setting.

Throughout *The Politics of Fieldwork: Research in an American Concentration Camp*, Hirabayashi places emphasis, in an effective manner, on primary source materials. What results for the reader is an experience in which Tsuchiyama herself seems to be telling much the story, which lends a valuable authenticity to Hirabayashi's work. In this sense, the book has the potential to appeal to not only students of anthropology, but those scholars and individuals—across academic disciplines—who wish to learn more about the research that was conducted during World War II.

Accordingly, while the book discusses Tsuchiyama's early life and education at the University of California-Berkeley, one of the most significant elements of this book are the collected "Letters from the Field," which detail the correspondence between Tsuchiyama and JERS director Dorothy

Thomas. The letters offer insight into not only the kinds of work Tsuchiyama was conducting, but also into the dynamics of her relationship with Thomas.

Ultimately, as Hirabayashi details, Thomas and Tsuchiyama parted ways in July, 1944, and while Tsuchiyama received her PhD a few years later, her dissertation was on an unrelated topic (6). While many in academia may be familiar with the difficulties that are sometimes associated with the professional relationship between students and faculty, these letters present an unusually candid view into the nature of such a relationship.

Future researchers would do well to compare the work of Tsuchiyama that is examined here to the research of others, perhaps even other Japanese Americans, on the same topic in order to expand the existing scholarship in this field. Such a comparative approach would likely help us to better understand the “mass incarceration” (5), as Hirabayashi terms it, of Japanese Americans during World War II. It might also be interesting to conduct additional studies about war-time research and the political and ethical questions that result from such work.

It is also worth noting that Hirabayashi includes a helpful bibliographic essay which does well to explain to the reader how Hirabayashi conducted research for this book. Given the relative lack of previous scholarship about Tsuchiyama, it strikes me that this section will likely prove a worthwhile starting point for scholars looking to further examine Tsuchiyama’s career in the future. Moreover, this section seems as though it would be especially worthwhile for authors, scholars and other interested individuals who are looking to gain perspective about how to approach a work similar to this one, in which both the personal story and professional accomplishments of a scholar are examined.

Overall, this book is valuable to those interested in a close examination of Tsuchiyama’s research achievements and the nature of fieldwork in general, as well as those looking learn more about her life.

The Myth of José Martí

Conflicting Nationalisms in Early Twentieth-Century Cuba

by Lillian Guerra

Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005

xii+310pp. Tables, Maps, Notes, Illustrations, Bibliographic References, Index

\$65.00 (cloth), 0-8078-2925-0

\$22.50 (paper), ISBN 0-8078-5590-1.

**Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Alejandro Gomez-del-Moral,
University of Georgia**

What George Washington and Thomas Jefferson represent to citizens of the United States, José Martí, the “Apostle” of Cuban independence, has been to denizens of that isle since his death at Dos Ríos, Oriente in 1895—father of his country, and founder of its most basic guiding principles. But Martí’s legacy is widely considered problematic. As Lillian Guerra points out in *The Myth of José Martí: Conflicting Nationalisms in Early Twentieth-Century Cuba*, Martí meant many different things to the politically fractured public of newly-independent Cuba, to the point where it seems that this public “created several Martí’s...” (3). Equally well known are early republican politicians’ attempts to co-opt these different iterations of the mythical Apostle in order to legitimate their own positions.

In *The Myth of José Martí*, the newest contribution to an ever-greater body of scholarship on Martí and his political and cultural legacy, Lillian Guerra argues for a deeper significance to these different Martí’s and their political hijacking. According to her, these Martí’s—she perceives three distinct Apostles—did not just herald political division, but specifically “represented different, conflicting interpretations of nation...” (3). Guerra contends that divergent national visions, the “conflicting nationalisms” of the book’s title, shaped the history and colored the politics of the Cuban Republic until 1921, by which year the Cuban government had lost nearly all vestige of its former legitimacy, and consequently leaned most heavily on Martí’s legacy to bolster its authority.

The core of Guerra’s argument lies in the three different strains of nationalism she identifies and contends permeated early Cuban republican political discourse, strains that she furthermore maintains found their source in the revolutionary and pre-revolutionary years. Pro-imperialist nationalism, which Guerra defines as having supported heavy foreign investment in Cuba and the possibility of American annexation, was championed by “white, formally educated, middle- and upper-class émigrés who left Cuba in the 1870s and early 1880s...” (15). These individuals, Guerra points out, spent much of their adult lives in the United States and Europe—many

were United States citizens—and unsurprisingly sought to perpetuate rather than dissolve foreign hegemony in Cuba. Meanwhile, revolutionary nationalism, as Guerra terms it, was most supported by former leaders of the Cuban revolutionary army and sprang from these individuals' memories of earlier revolutionary attempts at independence. These leaders envisioned a top-down approach to social reform and an equally paternalist model of government, reminiscent of authoritarian military command chains, where a hierarchical republican electoral structure would ensure government by an elite. Finally, popular nationalism, which according to Guerra was the most radical of the three strains, emerged from "various historical experiences of marginalization..." (17-18), including those of émigré workers in Florida and New York, former soldiers in the 1895 War, black rights activists and some women. Both during the war and in its aftermath, these groups called for a pluralistic view of the nation where all would be afforded equal treatment and opportunities for advancement. To this group, Martí was a messiah offering an "ideal but achievable society on earth..." (18).

These groups, Guerra argues, might have engaged in dialogue, established viable compromises, and built a governing coalition but for the influence the United States wielded over Cuban affairs. Instead, both the pro-imperialists and revolutionary nationalists eschewed compromise and instead relied on US support in their political campaigns. And faced with the intransigence of these elite factions, the popular nationalists similarly turned to Cuba's northern neighbor, seeking from US intervention the concessions they could not receive at home. The result, according to Guerra, was a discredited government that increasingly became a puppet of the United States. As Guerra puts it, "neocolonial hegemony, rather than nation-state hegemony, prevailed..." (19). And meanwhile, this process of political differentiation created a fundamentally new—and more divisive—definition of elite status. Where social class and racial differences had previously governed elite membership, political views and proximity to state power now mattered equally. Advocacy of popular nationalism, for example, consigned individuals to marginalized, second-class elite status.

Guerra explores this argument in a succinct and useful introduction, seven body chapters, and an ambitious conclusion. In Chapters One, Two, and Three, Guerra lays out the tableau of different versions of Cuban nationalism, their origins in the pre-revolutionary era, development throughout the revolutionary period, and the immediate post-revolution victory of the conservative pro-imperialist strain and the consolidation of US hegemony in Cuba. Several of Guerra's points merit particular note. First, Guerra places some of the blame for early republican Cuba's political schisms on the Apostle's as-yet unburdened shoulders. According to her, Martí's message of selflessness and social unity, which drew politically disparate Cubans together under the banner of independence, was a broad-

based message that suppressed rather than reconciled extant ideological differences, making Martí's work the fountainhead from which sprang the sharply divided political climate of the early republic. Also, perhaps the least expected facet of the revolution that Guerra identifies in Chapter Two as having been ideologically influential are the mambises' guerrilla warfare tactics. According to her, mambí officers, revolutionary nationalists in mentality, saw carefully planned guerilla operations as future government-planned reform measures in microcosm and military guise, while the soldiers of the rank-and-file, for the most part popular nationalists, instead viewed the "world-turned-upside-down scenes" that they witnessed during guerilla strikes as "models for future political action by a popular nationalist state..." (51). Most remarkable of all, Guerra describes the United States' imposition of its authority in Cuba not as a case of resisted or unwelcome foreign intervention, or even an occupation supported solely by Cuban elites, but rather as a seemingly voluntary, popular submission to US tutelage. And key to this process was the well-intentioned cooperation of common Cubans like teacher Ritica Suarez del Villar, who worked within the American-imposed Cuban educational system to promote Cuban national pride (90). Finally, in this same chapter Guerra also begins to incorporate the problem of Martí's legacy into her argument, identifying the first recorded instance in which Cuban leaders invoked Martí for legitimacy. In 1901, Eliseo Giberga, a delegate to the Cuban constitutional convention, publicly criticized Martí, threatening the Apostle's myth of social unity and provoking a strong political response centered on Doña Leonor Perez, Martí's mother, a patriotic show intended to silence Giberga and quell the destabilizing effects of his actions.

Having thus set the board and pieces, Guerra uses her book's remaining four chapters to play out the struggles between these three visions of Cuba's future, and the use each strain of nationalism made of the image and memory of Martí the Apostle from 1902 to 1921. First, Guerra argues in Chapter Four that, following the US pullout in 1902, pro-imperialist and revolutionary nationalists in the Cuban government identified social reorganization as the primary enemy of the new republic's prosperity. These consequently turned from a policy of revolution, to one of *involution*, or the preservation of existing colonial sociopolitical models, to which popular nationalists responded by seeking to create a political *manigua* (revolutionary-era liberated zone) through "strikes, manifestos and an independent press..." (122). Martí's legacy figured prominently in these events as a tool in the hands of government elites: President Estrada-Palma garnered support by acting the part of the Apostle, especially by calling meetings with political opponents, while revolutionary nationalists justified racially discriminatory policies by echoing Martí's own prejudiced opinions (124,135-36).

This fierce political competition, according to Guerra, ultimately propelled the United States' domination of Cuban politics. In Chapters Five and Six, Guerra describes President Estrada-Palma's use of and establishment of violence as a valid form of political argument and suppression, and his alienation of the Liberal Party (largely revolutionary nationalist in tone), who thereafter aligned themselves with the popular nationalists. Culminating in a reelection campaign characterized by violence at polling places, government repression of the populist cause resulted in a civil war that ended in 1906 with the installation in Cuba of an American governor, Charles Magoon. Beyond the two years of his tenure, Guerra argues, Magoon's reformist administration left the Cuban working class looking to the United States rather than their own government for real social change, while pro-imperialists and revolutionary nationalists learned to equate social reformism with foreign interventionist sympathies. The result was that, "by 1909, nationalists of all currents... came to define their relationship to each other... in terms of their relationship to the United States..." (196).

Finally, in her last chapter Guerra brings the reader from the restoration of Cuban sovereignty in 1909 to 1921, the year in which the "Law that Glorifies the Apostle" was passed, which for Guerra marks the point by which the Cuban government had lost all remaining legitimacy. In the narrative of Cuba's political decline, this chapter offers few novelties; rather, the dominant themes are those present throughout the book: continued fierce, ultimately counterproductive political competition between factions, renewed definition of political stances in relation to Cuba's powerful neighbor, and Martí's invocation by all positions on the political spectrum. Guerra pays particular attention to the Repression of 1912; the rebellion of that same year that spawned it; the movements whose members fomented the rebellion; and the racial tensions and injustices that motivated them to revolt. Guerra also discusses here the erosion of ideological differences she maintains took place at this time between the Liberals and Conservatives, and their "muting of Martí," or the conversion of his message of social unity into an unrealistic ideal that only government elites could by then properly fulfill.

Guerra's work has much to recommend it. It is ambitious, well-researched, and in many ways comprehensive. Specifically, Guerra's interest in small but significant details is one of her work's strongest points: by expanding her focus beyond the leaders commonly examined, looking at individuals like Ricardo Batrell Oviedo, named as "the only black veteran to publish an account of the war..." (54), and Ritica Suarez del Villar, Guerra is able to generate a more populist picture of Cuban internal political division and cooperation with American interveners, shifting the blame (if one wants to call it that) for the United States' meddling in Cuban affairs to where it more properly belongs.

Guerra's book is also to be commended as a strong showing in the cultural historical and deconstructionist traditions. In this work, the author interprets cultural artifacts, particularly public gestures to great effect. One example that immediately comes to mind is the Cuban Constitutional Convention delegation's reaction to fellow delegate Eliseo Giberga's public criticism of Martí in 1902. Guerra is similarly deft while interpreting mambí reactions to 1895 War-era use of guerrilla tactics.

In this same vein, Guerra's flexibility in her use of sources also merits mention. Throughout the book, she delves into myriad aspects of revolutionary and early republican Cuban life; some expected, like the military penal code and the educational system in US-occupied Cuba, but also more creative, unexpected ones. As one example, in demonstrating the broad cultural (and specifically popular nationalist) impact that bandit leader Manuel García, the "King of the Cuban Countryside," had on the Cuban populace, Guerra turns to, of all sources, an 1895 War-era songbook (52).

Unfortunately, Guerra's sources and clever arguments are necessarily a means to an end—in this case, an exposition of the meaning of Martí to Cubans in the early republic, the erection of a framework of competing nationalisms to explain the early and precipitous decline of the early republic's fortunes, and a relationship between the former legacy and the latter movements. It seems like a lot, and it is. Quite frankly, Guerra tries to do too much in this book, and this is ultimately its greatest shortcoming, with several important consequences.

First, the book is somewhat unfocused because of Guerra's multiple aims. Chapter Three, "Cuba Libre in Crisis," for example, deals primarily with the imposition of US hegemony, and the welcome it received from the Cuban populace, as well as the role Guerra's different nationalisms played in engineering this chain of events. Martí, although mentioned in passing at various points, really only appears in the chapter's last subsection, "Constructing a Unified Cuba: Memory and the Unifying Myth of José Martí." While Guerra does a fine job of connecting Martí-centered and nationalism-oriented sections in other chapters, here the juncture is abrupt and jarring.

For that matter, because of the multiplicity of Guerra's aims, she never properly explores some of her lines of argument fully. This is the second consequence of her decision to take on such a broad challenge. As an example, Guerra's point—an immensely interesting one—concerning the "muting of Martí" that Liberals and Conservatives undertook as the 1900s and 1910s wore on, and their legitimacy declined, is never really explored. Directly, Guerra only devotes one subsection to the matter, the final one of both her seventh chapter and the body of her book. Similarly, her immensely interesting observation that revolutionary nationalist officers and popular nationalist soldiers interpreted guerrilla warfare acts differently and,

speaking politically, opportunistically, also never develops further than a three or four page-long cursory treatment. Of course, Guerra goes on to examine other facets of the *manigua's* politicizing, especially matters regarding courts-martial and race as a factor in juridical procedure, but this first potentially important avenue never really gets explored. And while Martí only appears sporadically in this chapter, the previous one is devoted almost exclusively to him. Some of that first chapter is necessary—Martí's mediation can hardly be extricated from the political situation it created. However, much of that space could arguably have been better used to explore the question of nationalism. Or, given the brief treatment that Martí's muting receives, perhaps Martí should occupy center stage. But one topic needs to; presented together, each only receives short shrift.

Perhaps the largest problem Guerra's otherwise excellent work encounters—which is, paradoxically, also one of its most intriguing features—is its conclusion. Nowhere is Guerra more ambitious: here, she casts herself into the republic's future, past its collapse in Fidel Castro's 1959 Cuban Revolution, and posits that the conflicts outlined above help explain the continued stability of Castro's now nearly 50-year-old regime, and shed light on the Revolution's significance. According to her, post-1959 Cuba achieved what had for so long eluded it after independence from Spain: nation-state instead of neo-colonial hegemony. As for the stability of the Castro regime, this, Guerra maintains, is partly due to the triumph of the nation-state, and partly to outreach by Castro's government to precisely those sectors of the population that popular nationalists championed, but ruling revolutionary and pro-imperialist nationalists ignored—the working classes (259).

As mentioned above, this is one of Guerra's most intriguing conclusions, and she has something of a point. It cannot be denied that literacy in Cuba is high, even if the standard wage is not. Medical care, though perhaps not as advanced as elsewhere, is widespread. But to claim that Cuba has conclusively reached full hegemony of the nation-state is precipitated. The government policy of socialist Cuba converged with that of the Soviet Union, with the Cuban Missile Crisis as the best-known example. Even today Cuba remains something of a client nation: heavy European investment (especially Spanish tourism, which may very well increase given the rise of the Zapatero administration in Iberia) as well as the influence of Castro's greatest Latin American ally, Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez, still influence Cuban policy, even if the control is not as direct as that exercised by Charles Magoon.

However, with the exception of these few challenges, Guerra's work represents an excellent piece of scholarship, and the quality of her research and individual conclusions is uniformly high. Though it tries to do too much, *The Myth of José Martí* does succeed in doing much: students of republican Cuba will discover a general history of the period up until 1921,

as well as a sensitive and detailed analysis of the political currents at play during this period. Fellow scholars of Cuban History will find an insightful take on José Martí's legacy in the early republic, and more importantly a more systematic explanation for the early collapse of democracy in Cuba. And for the merely curious reader, Guerra presents well-crafted, artful prose and a wealth of fascinating details about Cuban life in the late nineteenth and early 20th century. Despite its few, surmountable flaws, Lillian Guerra's work is, in the end, a valuable and sure-to-be appreciated contribution to an important body of existing scholarship on the meaning of José Martí.

Fort Pillow, a Civil War Massacre, and Public Memory

by John Cimprich

Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005

208pp. Bibliographic References, Preface, Index

\$29.95 (cloth), ISBN: 0-8071-3110-5

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Jennifer Guiliano, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Querying the social and cultural stakes of warfare in his examination of the April 12, 1864 battle between Nathaniel Bedford Forrest's Confederate troops and the Union garrison at Fort Pillow, Tennessee, *Fort Pillow, A Civil War Massacre, and Public Memory* attempts to reveal the events and underlying socio-cultural forces that led to the unmitigated slaughter of black and white Union troops by Confederate soldiers. The vast amount of primary-source research, derived from government records, newspapers, memoirs, diaries, and letters, to name a few, adds to the continually expanding source base for scholars of the Civil War and race relations in nineteenth-century America. Begun in 1989 with the publication of "The Fort Pillow Massacre: A Statistical Note" in which John Cimprich, along with Robert C. Mainfort Jr., corrected erroneous assumptions about casualty rates, the promise of the extended analysis of the socio-cultural origins of this massacre remains largely unfulfilled. While Cimprich convincingly asserts that Confederate troops did, in fact, kill Black troops at a much higher rate than average, he leaves this reader reliant on other scholarly works to contextualize the shape and scope of the socio-cultural relations between and among these troops and the larger United States society.

Cimprich's strongest narrative develops around the construction of Fort Pillow, the initial Federal attack, military life at the Fort, and the assumption of control by Federal troops. He presents clearly the factual evidence

of the Fort and its uses. Situated as a way station between Cairo, Illinois and Memphis, Tennessee along the eastern side of the Mississippi River, Fort Pillow was designed initially as a military battery to alleviate overcrowding at nearby Confederate Fort Randolph and to prohibit false alarms of surprise Northern attacks (4). Built primarily by slaves conscripted from their owners and overseen by Irish engineers, the Fort allowed a stretch of the Mississippi River to be closed to commercial and military traffic through the use of physical obstructions and gunfire. Held from June 1861 to June 4, 1862, the fort accommodated an estimated 2,000 men by the time bombardment began by Federal troops who hoped to decimate Confederate supplies by controlling the Mississippi and dividing the eastern supplies from the western theatre.

"The Federals arrival," writes Cimprich, "created multi-layered social conflicts, challenges for their military rule in the future" (37). He tell us of the isolated nature of the Fort, poor health, malnutrition, and inadequate clothing and supplies that contributed to widespread disease and frustration on the part of both Southern and Northern troops. Despite the successful seizure and two year use of Fort Pillow to control river traffic, as a site to conscript men into the Federal war effort, and to prevent guerilla warfare, in January 1864 under order of General William T. Sherman, Federal troops closed Fort Pillow in order to devote resources to other military campaigns. The "hard policy" that relied on the confiscation of Confederate goods and property had strained relations between Fort Pillow's commanders and troops and the local community. As the war dragged onwards, the troop morale and the scarcity of resources took its toll on the Fort and the surrounding areas.

Cimprich teases the reader with several intriguing threads in the early days of Fort Pillow's history: Irish immigrants who worked as skilled laborers repeatedly threatened to strike during the building of Fort Pillow and often captained slaves who constructed the forts. Were there conflicts between these groups? How did the Confederate government handle strike threats? Did Irish laborers and/or slaves have thoughts about Fort Pillow and its construction? In fomenting a local economy, how did local entrepreneurs contribute to the maintenance of the Fort and its men? Did subsidiary institutions crop up to support families and camp followers who flocked to the Fort? How was courtship and marriage between troops and local women treated in the community? In each of these unanswered questions, Cimprich could have only enlivened his discussion of the Fort and its environs.

Labeling the Fort Pillow massacre in April, 1864, after its reopening an "atrocitiy," Cimprich grounds his analysis of the massacre itself by gesturing at a larger body of scholarship about military history and the killing of noncombatants and surrendering soldiers in particular. Positioning the work within the frame of Horseshoe Bend (1814), Mexico City (1848),

Washita River (1868), Normandy (1944), and My Lai (1968) allows Cimprich to assert a political statement concerning United States governmental and military culpability. More directly, while it matters if Nathaniel Bedford Forrest and his lieutenants ordered the continual assault and killing of Union troops at Fort Pillow, Cimprich argues it is more important that the social forces at play created a society that violated military courtesy. He points to four major factors that contributed to this disjuncture: anger about Federal military occupation of Tennessee and the Mississippi River area in particular; racial hostility fostered between Blacks and whites in the United States; "political enmity against Southerners for joining the Federal army;" and the concomitant antagonism toward white Northerners who officered Black units (85).

Cimprich's reading of the racial conflict rests firmly on the work of military historians, like Joseph T. Glatthaar, Mark Grimsley, and James McPherson, who concentrate on military structures, troop movements, and daily life. In drawing the attention of the field of Civil War history to the massacre at Fort Pillow, Cimprich has done a great service. Few scholars have considered the ramifications of this event and the ways in which it may have shaped further battles during the war. Given this addition, though, the limitations of his strict allegiance to boundaries of military structures become very apparent when considering his methodological approach to the framework of racial hierarchies and racial violence. Cimprich's failure to delve into the worlds of soldiers outside of Fort Pillow render an incomplete consideration of the racial and class motivations that could have been at play. The writings of Tomás Almaguer in *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (1994), Mia Bay in *The White Image in the Black Mind* (2001), George Fredrickson in *The Black Image in the White Mind* (1971), and Reginald Horsman in *Race and Manifest Destiny* (1981) have each deployed critical race theory to examine racial formation in nineteenth-century America. Collectively, they offer Cimprich a vital conclusion about the Civil War era: it is not just the enforcement of racial hierarchy but the confluence of ideas about race and class that create systems of oppression and violence. For example, Cimprich reads the debate over officer involvement in the massacre as a disagreement over the personal character of Nathaniel Bedford Forrest. Instead, Cimprich could ask about the class motivations of the massacre: "Why was it important that officers did not participate in the slaughter? How did laying the blame on regular soldiers defuse possible class tensions within the newly united military and congressional bodies that were investigating the matter? Paul Foos, whose *A Short, Offhand, Killing Affair: Soldiers and Social Conflict during the Mexican-American War* (2001) Cimprich cites in the preface offers a model of analysis that could lend a more nuanced reading of soldierly and societal motivations. Further, applying critical race theory that centers questions of class and racial hierarchies could unite disparate

portions of the text. The last chapter on memory could function to illuminate the differences in the way certain classes and races memorialized the massacre and could allow for a further theoretical intervention into the concept of racial hierarchy beyond white-Black binary elucidated by previous authors. Instead, "Public Memory and Fort Pillow" reads largely as a historiographical afterthought, a condition of early 1990s excitement over scholarship of memory and public commemoration, instead of a careful intervention into how changes in American society have challenged and affirmed the circumstances surrounding the Fort Pillow massacre.

"I intend for this series to foster some daring departures," said T. Michael Parrish, editor of the "Conflicting Worlds: New Dimensions of the American Civil War" series, "in probing, defining, and arguing about every conceivable aspect of the most aspiring yet disturbing period in United States history—that gigantic, and in many ways unending, trauma of democracy we call the Civil War." Unfortunately, *Fort Pillow* fails to depart from the narrative structure to offer innovative interpretations that could challenge contemporary understandings of the Civil War and the violent massacre at Fort Pillow in particular.

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Globalization and its Enemies

by **Daniel Cohen**

Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2006

256pp. Tables, Maps, Notes, Bibliographic References, Index

\$27.95 (cloth), ISBN 0-262-03350-X.

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Sara Beth Keough, Saginaw State Valley University

In a recent BBC World Service documentary, “The Changing World: The New Rules of the Game,” Jonathan Marcus (2006) reviews various theories of globalization. Calling globalization a “consequence of free trade,” Marcus points out that one of its problems is that globalization cannot be applied to international law because of the extent to which nations guard their own interests. In this regard, national protectionist policies are an example of what Daniel Cohen would call an enemy of globalization.

Some geography textbooks speak of globalization in terms of integrated international processes that in many cases exploit poor countries and create income disparities in all countries. In other words, these textbooks look at globalization as the enemy. In *Globalization and Its Enemies*, however, Daniel Cohen turns the concept on its head by examining the circumstances and processes that hinder globalization, or a country’s participation in the global economy. Throughout the book’s introduction, seven chapters, and conclusion, Cohen discusses globalization in terms of how it appears to both the players and those on the sidelines.

Cohen begins by asking the question, “Why are poor countries so poor and rich countries so rich?” (1). He spends the rest of the book exploring this international income disparity. In the first two chapters, Cohen draws heavily on Jared Diamond’s (1997) *Guns, Germs, and Steel* and Arghiri Emmanuel’s (1972) *Unequal Exchange* to explore the evolution of what he calls the north/south axis, or the rich, developed North exploiting the poor, developing South. Next, Cohen contrasts the evolution of this income disparity, most of which occurred during the nineteenth century, to the New World Economy, or the new cycle of globalization that began in the 1980s. The author pays particular attention to the international division of labor and its links (or lack thereof) to countries’ search for prosperity. In Chapters Four and Five, Cohen moves toward a larger-scale analysis of the rich/poor disparity. He uses the Islamic Middle East, China, and Europe as examples of how economic isolation/integration, coupled with trends in population growth, affected regional involvement in the global economy. Cohen disputes the assumption that a negative correlation exists between population growth and economic growth. He uses Asia as an

example of a region where population growth rates are increasing, yet per capita income is also rising. His point here is that rapid population growth retards the ability of developing countries to keep pace (i.e., as if they are running in place). Cohen explains the key to rapid growth in Chapter Six: innovation. He claims that the reason countries that have shifted to a more service-based economy, such as the United States, can still compete in the global market is because these countries are centers for research and innovation. He contrasts the United States with Europe, which he claims is not a center for innovation, and is therefore not as strong a player in global economic trade. In the final chapter, Cohen uses case studies in the AIDS crisis and the national debt crisis to once again show how rich countries not only hold the keys to economic development of poor countries (medicine and debt relief), but go so far as to withhold the keys from the countries that need them most. Cohen concludes the book with the statement that globalization's biggest problem is that it does not keep its promises. In his words, globalization is still inaccessible to a significant portion of the world's population, it encourages exploitation, and it creates an image of closeness between nations when the relationship is only virtual (166).

Overall, my biggest criticism of this book is the limited amount of new ideas presented. The book presents a good literature review of some of the great economic theorists and recent commentaries on globalization, but most of the author's original ideas are not presented until the last chapter. In addition, the author's generalist approach to the topic of globalization leads the reader to imagine that globalization is a fairly simple and straightforward issue. The question posed by Cohen in the first sentence of the book, "why are poor countries so poor and rich countries so rich?" is answered in the second sentence: "because the former exploits the latter" (1). This brief answer to a complex question implies that questions about global economic processes can be stated in a single sentence. The use of a dichotomy (rich and poor) to explain globalization encourages readers to think of globalization in only two black-and-white dimensions, rather than as a multi-dimensional phenomenon. Cohen also uses the term "third-world" to refer to developing nations, a term that is quickly losing popularity among scholars of global economic trends. Furthermore, by using the rich-North-versus-poor-South dichotomy, Cohen fails to account for a growing east/west world orientation as wealthy, Western-based multinational corporations exploit, for example, poor laborers in China and Indonesia. Through much of the book it appears that globalization is the enemy of poor countries, and readers should remind themselves that the author's ostensible goal is to divulge the enemies of *globalization*. Finally, the prominence of state policies and regulatory frameworks, which are significant sections of other works on globalization, like Dicken's (2003) *Global Shift*, are understated in Cohen's work.

While I present these criticisms, there are equally good reasons for considering the book. Cohen's writing style is easy to read, and his arguments are clear. The book flows well and Cohen's arguments can be easily followed between chapters. There are strong underlying themes present throughout the book, and Cohen offers some stimulating, if arguable, ideas for discussion. The book would work well if used in an upper-level undergraduate- or graduate-level economics or economic geography class because there are at least two sides to even the most questionable ideas presented. The book forces the reader to consider the circumstances that affect globalization rather than taking the traditional approach of considering how globalization affects circumstances. I feel this is the book's greatest asset.

In Cohen's book, the enemies of globalization are clear: closed societies, corrupt governments, disparities in wealth, costs of overcoming distance, and the way in which the debate is framed (globalization as a class struggle versus a clash of civilizations). All of these "enemies" inhibit poor countries from reaping the benefits that globalization can offer.

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Ancient Titicaca

The Evolution of Complex Society in Southern Peru and Northern Bolivia

by Charles Stanish

Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003

xxiii+354pp. Tables, Maps, Figures, Appendix, Notes, References, Index

\$60.00 (cloth), ISBN 0-520-23245-3

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Charles C. Kolb, National Endowment for the Humanities

Ancient Titicaca is a significant and pioneering comprehensive archaeological, ethnohistoric, and ecological assessment of the Titicaca Basin. It is written by Charles Stanish, a young, forward-thinking scholar who, within two decades, has established himself among the illustrious researchers of Andean archaeology. Stanish, trained initially as an undergraduate at Penn State and then at the University of Chicago (A.M. 1983, Ph.D. 1985), with a side trip to the University of Michigan as a CIC (Committee on Institutional Cooperation [read Big Ten]) Traveling Scholar in 1983, is well schooled in anthropological method and theory. He has moved beyond traditional settlement-pattern studies pioneered in Peru by the late Gordon Willey in the 1950s, in Mesoamerica's basin of Mexico by William Sanders since the 1960s, and in the Diyala region of Mesopotamia by Robert McCormick Adams in the 1970s. Indeed, Stanish dedicates this volume to the Adams for his inspiration to two generations of students at the University of Chicago and beyond. Likewise, the author's ethnohistoric perspectives demonstrate influences from the late John Rowe, Tom Zuidema, and Patricia Lyon. Nonetheless, Stanish distinguishes himself by synthesizing a mass of published and unpublished data and his own research, and creates a coherent, logical narrative that leads the reader through complex topics, central to which are the evolution of political chiefdoms, states, and empires. Stanish's archaeological surveys and excavations in sites along the shores and on the islands of Lake Titicaca provide the raw materials for relating six millennia of human occupation in the Lake Titicaca Basin of highland Peru and Bolivia, one of the world's great centers of preindustrial civilization.

Stanish has been affiliated with the University of Illinois at Chicago, the University of Chicago, and the Field Museum of Natural History. At the latter he rose to the position of Associate Curator and Chairman of the Department of Anthropology, but in 1998 left to join the Department of Anthropology at UCLA where he is now Professor of Anthropology and Director of the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology. *Ancient Titicaca* is

Stanish's sixth book and his best yet. Notable among the previous volumes are his *Ancient Andean Political Economy* (1992) and, with Brian Bauer, *Ritual and Pilgrimage in the Ancient Andes: The Islands of the Sun and the Moon* (2001).

The University of California Press provides the reader with a book that is pleasing to the eye, pleasurable to read, and is admirably edited. The volume is well worth its price and is valuable not only to Andeanists, but also to scholars of comparative civilizations, ecological and political anthropologists, processual anthropologists, and historians of ancient cultures, among other academics. The reader will find well-documented evidence about the rise and demise of civilizations accompanied by data and concepts that are applicable to cultures in other times and places. Structurally, the volume has 44 figures, 37 maps, nineteen tables, 87 endnotes and an extremely valuable (and accurate) set of 564 references cited. Another asset is the highly detailed double-column index of proper nouns, subjects, and topics (331-54). The appendix, "Selected Terms from the 1612 Aymara Dictionary of Ludovico Bertonio," contains 222 terms on Aymara ethnicity, social and political structure, warfare, geography, agriculture, religion, and technology. Notably, a Spanish translation of the book is available on the Andean Lab homepage of the Cotsen website at UCLA (<http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/ioa/index.html>).

Stanish's treatise does not begin with the usual obligatory introductory essays on geography, ecology, and chronology. Instead, the author provides a broad comparative framework for evaluating how complex societies developed, and outlines of paradigms to which the author returns in the concluding chapter. He provides a synthesis of the region's archaeology and cultural history, and essays on the history of archaeological research in the Titicaca Basin. We learn about Tiwanaku, an expansive archaic state that was not structurally similar to the Inca Empire, but was just as significant to Andean culture history. The first chapter, "Ancient Collasuyu" (1-17), imparts an overview of regional prehistory and presents broad theoretical conclusions based upon Stanish's research. "The Evolution of Political Economies" (18-29) elaborates the theoretical framework of ranked political economies and concepts of household production and Chayanov's Rule. Regional geography and ecology (rainfall, soil types, land use, and changes in lake levels) are detailed in Chapter Three, "The Geography and Paleoecology of the Titicaca Basin" (30-43), while "The Ethnography and Ethnohistory of the Titicaca Basin" (44-71), based on historical documents and ethnographic studies, conveys information about ethnic groups (including the Aymara, Quechua, Uru, Pukina, Uruquilla or Chipaya, and Choquela), demographic changes, subsistence activities, and political economy. This is an especially valuable essay.

Stanish then synthesizes systematically the data from six archaeological periods in the Titicaca Basin within an evolutionary anthropological

framework, beginning with a comprehensive essay, “The History of Archaeological Research in the Titicaca Basin” (72–98). The subsequent well-written and carefully documented chapters are: “The Origins and Elaboration of Rank in the Early and Middle Formative Periods” (99–136); “The Rise of Competitive Peer Politics in the Upper Formative Period” (137–64); “The First State of Tiwanaku” (165–203); and “The Rise of Complex Agro-Pastoral Societies in the Altiplano Period” (204–35). “Conquest from Outside: The Inca Occupation of the Titicaca Basin” (236–77) is a story told by other authors, but this rendition eclipses them in clarity and the incorporation of current research. Chapter Eleven, “The Evolution of Social Power in the Titicaca Basin” (278–94) is a masterpiece that assesses and expands concepts and paradigms from the initial chapters.

Titicaca Basin prehistory frequently has been seen from the perspective of Inca and Spanish intellectuals. The author demonstrates that the ancestors of the Aymara people of the Titicaca Basin rivaled the Incas in wealth, sophistication, and intellect. In the foreword, Joyce Marcus writes that Stanish combines empirical archaeological data with a wide range of models, showing us how society could be transformed from autonomous village to expansionist empire over the course of three millennia. Indeed, he has prepared a landmark assessment that will provide a benchmark that scholars concerned with other regions should emulate.

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Troweling through Time

The First Century of Mesa Verdean Archaeology

by **Florence C. Lister**

Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004
 xlv+288pp. Preface, Illustrations, Appendices, Notes, Bibliographic References, Index.
 \$24.95 (paper), ISBN 0-8263-3502-0

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Michael A. Lange, University of Wisconsin

Troweling through Time is a history of archaeological processes carried out at Mesa Verde and the surrounding area. Florence Lister is listed as both

an archaeologist and a historian of archaeology, and it is the latter hat the author wears throughout most of this book. She aims to recount the stories of the people who have done and continue to do archaeology in and around Mesa Verde, rather than a history of the area itself. Nor is the book an examination of Mesa Verdean archaeology itself; there are no site plans of Pueblo structures, no lengthy descriptions of excavations. The readers of *Material Culture* will be happy to note that Lister does have several passages listing the artifacts found by various excavators of Mesa Verde. However, archaeologists expecting site analyses and technical discussion will be disappointed.

A certain familiarity on the part of the reader with the Mesa Verde area is assumed by Lister. A lack of maps, even general maps of the Four Corners area, might leave those unfamiliar with Southwestern geography and prehistory confused at times, especially when describing the tangled canyons which make up much of the Mesa Verde area covered in the book. Lister sets out to review the history of archaeological work in the area, and present that work to those without archaeological knowledge. In this, she does an admirable job, but those without geographic knowledge do not fare so well.

Lister's archaeological roots do show through frequently, though often in compact fits and starts. The historical presentation is interspersed with discussions of the archaeological process, which are enlightening and entertaining:

Without the laboratory work that usually takes more time and diligence than what is spent on one's knees with trowel in hand, there is little justification for archaeology. It is a time when field notes are deciphered before they grow cold, specimens are analyzed, maps and charts are prepared, literature searches are made, and ideas about what one has witnessed are shared with colleagues (116).

Passages such as this one state the obvious to an archaeologist, but give insight into the realities of archaeology to the uninitiated. Such glimpses appear throughout the larger narrative of the book. Of particular interest to me was the description of the early years of Crow Canyon Archaeological Center, which was founded by Stuart Struever. Struever went to the Southwest to found Crow Canyon patterned on the Center for American Archeology in Illinois, which he had founded earlier. I worked at the Center for American Archeology, and Lister's description of Crow Canyon brought back many fond memories from Kampsville. If nothing else, this attests to Lister's evocative description. Her history also provides insight into the evolution of archaeology as a science. Little tidbits of information about developments in the technology, philosophical approach,

and methodology of archaeology can be found in the presentation of 100 years of investigation at Mesa Verde.

Witty and truthful observations, such as “Exploration, like archaeology, is often a crapshoot” (3), enliven Lister’s presentation of Mesa Verde history. Unfortunately, the historical presentation itself is often disjointed. Lister does not attempt to follow the chronology of her book’s subtitle directly. Instead, she presents the history of Mesa Verdean archaeology by focusing on the various people who have influenced it. Beginning with the accidental “discovery” of the Chaco Great Houses by James H. Simpson, Lister details the involvement of the people who formed the area’s archaeology: the Wetherill family, Edgar Hewett, Jesse Walter Fewkes, Virginia McClurg, Alden Hayes, Alfred Kidder, and even John D. Rockefeller. She tells each person’s story in turn, and the chronologies of those individual stories sometimes overlap, leading to an overall narrative which jumps back and forth at times.

This disjointed presentation is compounded by the style of writing. Lister moves from recounting specific events to relating these events to the greater history of Mesa Verdean archaeology, but the transitions are often abrupt, making for a jarring narrative flow. The information presented in the paragraphs is certainly sound, but often the style of Lister’s writing makes accessing that information more difficult than it need be. Additionally, she often attributes motivations to the historical figures without clearly presenting evidence for her interpretations. When writing of Victoria McClurg’s first visit to the Mesa Verde area, for example, Lister writes:

McClurg appealed to the commander of Fort Lewis ... for a military escort to accompany her on a horseback trip into the Mesa Verde country. He refused, no doubt thinking it a hairbrained idea for a lone woman to risk an encounter with barbarians just to see something as unimportant as dirty wrecks of old houses. But McClurg persisted until the commander finally relented, probably in disgust. ... McClurg was awed by this wreckage [of the cliff dwellings] seemingly crunched one hundred feet below the rimrock and hundreds of feet up from the canyon floor. It was a sight she never forgot as the climax to what must have been an adventure of a lifetime (8).

There is much useful information contained in the prose, however. Those interested in the history of the Southwest, in archaeology, in prehistoric and historic Native America, or in the intertwining of science with political and historical processes will find Lister’s book a worthwhile read. The last chapter of the book departs from the historical narrative, giving instead an overview of the different phases of occupation of Mesa Verde. This archaeological information is enlightening, but it is not overly

technical, making it accessible to non-archaeologists. The bibliography contains a wealth of primary sources on Mesa Verde and archaeology, and the well-constructed index enhances the book's usefulness. The vast majority of the footnotes are merely citations, however, with very few offering much additional information. As a bonus, the book also opens with over 70 photographs spanning the entire history of Mesa Verdean archaeology. These images do much the same as the text that follows—both present snapshots of the most important historical figures and moments in the history of the area, providing a good feel for the place and the people who have shaped Mesa Verdean archaeology.

Sprawl and Suburbia *A Harvard Design Magazine Reader*

edited by William S. Sauders

Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005

160pp. Preface, Illustrations

\$22.95 (paper), ISBN 0816647550

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Kirin Makker, Smith College

Six weeks after hurricane Katrina devastated parts of Biloxi and Gulfport, Mississippi, key figures associated with the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) visited communities en masse to advise the cities on rebuilding their neighborhoods and commercial areas. To some, the manner in which New Urbanists descended upon these regions was characteristic of the design and planning movement's aggressive approach to addressing the pitfalls of late 20th-century suburban sprawl. The CNU's manifesto appears in the form of a Charter for the New Urbanism on their website and in several associated publications. When an editor puts out a call on any topic related to the structure and life of cities, New Urbanists are ready with fully drafted articles and editorials for submission. Andres Duany, often cited as the father of the movement, is so confident of the benefits of new urbanism that when he participated in a community charrette on the redesign of regions destroyed by Katrina, he wore a navy blue jacket with the letters "CNU" printed on the back in the style of an FBI SWAT team.

While the Congress for the New Urbanism certainly offers some thoughtful reactions and potential solutions for addressing suburban sprawl, there are other intellectual voices that offer equally compelling views. Over the last two years especially, more alternative voices have been published in reaction to sprawl and suburbia including *This Land: The Battle Over Sprawl and the Future of America* by Anthony Flint (2006), *Sprawl Costs: Economic*

Impacts of Unchecked Development by Robert Burchell, Anthony Downs, Sahan Mukerhi, and Barbara McCann (2005), and *Sprawl: A Compact History* by Robert Bruegmann (2005).

Joining this dialogue is *Sprawl and Suburbia*, a book edited by William S. Saunders comprising eleven essays published in *Harvard Design Magazine* between 1997 and 2004. When these essays were originally printed, they offered some of the only persuasive commentary on sprawl and suburbia that did not subscribe to the CNU's directives. As such, this volume is an indispensable record of late 20th-century observations about the character of our suburban landscape. Within this text, we do hear from architects and planners who are aligned with the CNU. But we also hear from lawyers, geographers, and a scholar of American Studies. Rather than offering proscriptive solutions to sprawl, we hear sociological, cultural and economic critiques. While the unhealthiness and ugliness of our inner cities was the great issue of the day at the beginning of the last century, one of the most pressing issues at the turn of the twenty-first century is what to do about sprawl. These authors offer diverse views on what we must understand about the urban patterns that have shaped and continue to inform the character of our built environment.

David Harvey, in "The New Urbanism and the Communitarian Trap: On Social Problems and the False Hope of Design," offers a critique of the Congress for the New Urbanism's solutions to suburban sprawl, questioning how architectural form can foster civic engagement. Although this article was first published in 1997, Harvey's challenges to New Urbanists remain largely unanswered. He states, "my real worry is that the movement repeats at a fundamental level the same fallacy of the architectural and planning styles it criticizes. Put simply, does it not perpetuate the idea that the shaping of the spatial order is or can be the foundation for a new moral and aesthetic order?" (23). Harvey penetrates the discussion of sprawl and suburbia by insisting that in order to change this landscape, we must remember that modernists thought they could foster civic engagement through an appropriately shaped built environment and that New Urbanists, by focusing on the spatial form of suburban development, have fallen into the same trap.

In "Duct Tape Nation: Land Use, the Fear Factor, and the New Unilateralism," Andrew Ross recalls for readers that it took several decades for cold war historians to link mass suburbanization and the political rhetoric of President Harry Truman. Ross suggests that current studies of sprawl and suburbia would benefit from investigations into how the new unilateralism in US foreign policy influences what he calls the "psychogeography of the nation" (120). Ross asks, "How pervasive among the citizenry is the obsession with security, and what can the study of land use tell us about its social and emotional mentality?" (120). Echoing some of the research from his own work on Celebration, Florida, Ross states plainly that

more residential ethnographies and landscape studies are necessary to attain a fuller picture of the social, political, and economic reasons for sprawl.

Mitchell Schwarzer, in “The Spectacle of Ordinary Building,” explains that the big box buildings that dominate the landscape of sprawl are large scale commodities, meant for American consumption just like the products within them. The character of current strip malls, however, differs significantly from that of the middle 20th century. While the ordinary buildings of 1960s and 1970s wore flashy signs integrated into their architecture, the big box stores of today are not adorned in this manner. “Today’s gasoline stations, roadside restaurants, and motor inns seem reluctant to convey much fantasy or fun” (85). The architecture of new ordinary buildings are dull backdrops fronted by billboards and video screens because there is less need for these stores to look distinct. What can we do about this? Schwarzer advocates for designers to follow the pragmatic model of the New Urbanists and look to influencing public policy, but to do so with a less monocultural aesthetic agenda. Addressing sprawl, according to Schwarzer, begins with a coherent understanding of the American need to consume and how best to market that consumption through thoughtful and interesting architecture.

Overall, this volume of essays offers critical scholarship on an issue of pressing interest at the dawn of the twenty-first century. Although some of the essays are ten years old, none are pedestrian. This book would be an excellent addition to any upper-level undergraduate course on the cultural landscape of the late 20th century or any graduate-level material culture seminar devoted to the topic of residential development.

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The Thai House

History and Evolution

**by Ruethai Chaichongrak, Somchai Nil-Athi, Ornsirl Panin,
and Saowalak Posayanonda**

Photography by Michael Freeman

Trumbull, CT: Weatherhill, 2002

248 pp. Photographs, Illustrations, Glossary, Bibliographic References

\$50.00 (cloth), ISBN 0834805200

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Allen G. Noble, The University of Akron

This stunningly designed and presented volume is organized into an Introduction and four numbered chapters, each of which discusses one large region of the country of Thailand. While there is considerable comparability among the four chapters, each emphasizes specific regional characteristics from a different perspective. Each region has its unique orientation, which is reflected in different emphases in environmental, cultural, and constructional influences producing the different aspects of traditional housing.

Architectural details appear throughout the volume in remarkably clear color illustrations. One of the most attractive elements of the book is the consistently beautiful depiction of exquisite woodcarvings and mural paintings used as wood panels in traditional houses. The book's Bibliography is quite small for a volume of this size and complexity. Also, it includes many entries published in Thailand. While such sources are virtually absent in more easily available standard works, their origin as Thai sources likely makes them rather difficult for researchers to secure.

The Thai House, for all its welcome characteristics, does not offer a complete view of traditional houses in Thailand. A reader must realize at the start that only wooden houses with prefabricated wall panels are treated, even though these represent the overwhelming portion of all houses in the country. Additionally, many "larger wooden houses of the relatively wealthy" (11) are intensively discussed giving the impression that they belong in the vernacular tradition.

Included within the volume are illustrations and short discussions of granaries, barns and rice-field guard shacks because of the close connection of these structures with design and construction elements common to vernacular housing.

Also included in three chapters are extensive discussions of temples. Surprisingly, only the chapter, which deals with structures of the central region, fails to contain any mention of religious structures, although the significance of traditional religious beliefs and practices in determining

building procedures is well documented. Perhaps a major reason for the treatment of temples only in the three peripherally located regions is the greater difficulty in accessing such remoter regions, and hence the less modified character of the temples and their consequently closer relationship to regional vernacular architecture.

Chapter One, "The Central Region," is the longest chapter in the volume. It includes some material, which could have been placed in a more comprehensive chapter, since it applies in a general sense to all structures in the country. The headings under which these materials are arranged give a strong clue to their generally applicable nature. Such headings include "the Construction Press," "House Components," "Traditional Beliefs," "Thai Villages," and "Characteristics of Traditional Houses." Note that this latest heading includes *all* Thai Houses, not just those in the Central Region. Throughout the text, house types are not only carefully described, but also are identified by the liberal use of various Thai language designations. Furthermore, a comprehensive glossary includes terms relating to orientation of environmental relationships of structures, construction components, types of buildings and identification, including Latin and Thai language names of trees and plants commonly associated with Thai houses.

In Chapter Two, entitled "The North," differences in settlement patterns in a region of both mountains and villages, are examined. The cooler environment of the North, and its closer cultural affinities with much of the rest of Southeast Asia are explored as they affect traditional houses. Smaller windows, extended eaves and covered entryways and verandahs separate Northern houses from those in the Central Region, as well as the more diagnostic characteristic of a different position of house component parts.

Chapter Three, "The North East," also has environmental characteristics different from other regions. Although rainfall totals are low, the region is increasingly subject to constant flooding because of the on-going extensive logging and deforestation. The region has the lowest annual income of all regions, which is reflected in the simple forms of houses with less decorative detail, thatch or corrugated roofs rather than the tile found elsewhere, and houses are raised higher on piers or stilts because of flooding. An excellent discussion of the structures collected and conserved in the Museum of Isaan Houses distinguishes this chapter. Its major defect is its much shorter length, and consequently briefer analysis, compared to the other regional chapters.

The final chapter, "The South," covers the extended peninsula of the Kra Isthmus, where rainfall and humidity are constant throughout the year. Because of its physical geography, the region's population is more heterogeneous than in other regions. Also, Islam prevails in contrast to the Buddhism of other parts of Thailand. The traditional houses in the South are also different from the rest of the country, where hipped roofs, footings of

stone or concrete, elaborate roof decorations, intricate fretwork on wall panels providing ventilation, and decorative painted details, are more characteristic than in the rest of Thailand.

Because each chapter is written by a different scholar, some variation exists among the chapters. Nevertheless, together they form a cohesive and comprehensive analysis of the traditional domestic architecture. Serious students of vernacular material culture will wish to add this volume to their professional libraries, or at least to consult the work for the perceptive discussion of this architecture, which is little known or understood in the United States.

Santa Fe Hispanic Culture

Preserving Identity in a Tourist Town

By Andrew Leo Lovato

Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004

xiv+140pp. Figures, Tables, Maps, Notes, Bibliography, and Index

\$24.95 (cloth), ISBN 0-8263-3225-0

\$17.95 (paper), ISBN 0-8263-3226-9

**Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Steven M. Schnell, Kutztown
University of Pennsylvania**

Andrew Leo Lovato's *Santa Fe Hispanic Culture: Preserving Identity in a Tourist Town* tackles a tremendously complicated topic: the intersection between cultural tourism and identity. Few places provide as rich a setting for examining these issues as Santa Fe. With its multicultural history and its longstanding status as a destination for outsiders, Santa Fe was engaging in imagineering long before anybody had even conceived of the term.

The book is divided into several sections. After an introductory chapter, Chapter Two provides a (very) brief overview of Santa Fe's history, from the Anasazi period to the present. In a mere 23 pages, however, this overview is too cursory to be of much use in understanding later sections of the book.

The next section addresses Santa Fe Hispanic cultural identity directly, providing a historical overview of the complex array of terminology used to refer to those of Hispanic descent (Spanish-American, Mexican, Chicano, Mexicano, Hispano, Latino), a muddled mixture of racial, ethnic, geographic, and linguistic signifiers. The author also surveys both Hispanic and non-Hispanic residents of Santa Fe to determine what the key perceived characteristics of Hispanic identity are.

Chapter Four discusses the history of the centuries-old Fiesta de Santa Fe, the main Hispanic cultural festival in Santa Fe. In Santa Fe as elsewhere,

festivals are a primary means of expressing cultural identity and transmitting its meanings to others. The festival is a celebration of the reconquest of the region and its Pueblo Indian inhabitants by the Spanish (after having been forced out of northern New Mexico twelve years earlier) in 1692–1693. Lovato discusses the problematic nature of such a festival celebrating colonial conquest in a city that prides itself on a tri-cultural heritage, and details some of the changes in emphasis that the festival has undergone to make it a more inclusive affair.

Chapter Five is by far the most valuable section by far of the book. It concerns art and cultural identity among Hispanic artists, and the interactions between tourists, art collectors, and the Anglo, Indian, and Hispanic artistic communities in Santa Fe. Most notably, it illuminates the ghettoization of Hispanic art in the (Anglo) public's mind as mere "folk" art, as opposed to the "noble savage"-tinged appreciation of Indian art and the "fine art" status often accorded to Anglo artists. It also nicely elucidates the frustrations faced by artists in a town where kitschy pastel coyotes howling at the moon are *de rigueur*. Both through his interviews and his interpretation, the author gives us a nuanced understanding of the complex interactions between cultural tourism, art, expression, and commodification.

Chapter Six deals ostensibly with "Tourism's Impact on Santa Fe Hispanic Identity." Yet Hispanic identity is, for the most part, entirely absent from the chapter. A more accurate title for the chapter would have been "Tourism and Community in Santa Fe." What the chapter really deals with are the ways that tourism has come to overwhelm the town as a livable place. Here, as in other trendy tourist destinations, stores geared towards locals have almost all given way to tourist-oriented businesses. What's more, wealthy visitors drawn by the Santa Fe mystique are moving to town in large numbers, jacking up housing prices so that many long-time locals are forced to live in (decidedly un-adobe) trailer homes on the edge of the city.

There are a number of serious drawbacks to this book. In his introduction, Lovato promised, as a long-time Hispanic resident of the city, to give the reader an insider's perspective on Hispanic identity in Santa Fe. The debate about whether insiders or outsiders provide the most insight into a culture is, of course, an old one. The argument is largely moot, however, since much of the interpretation contained in this book is paraphrased from the work of other (largely Anglo) authors, most notably Chris Wilson's (1997) classic work *The Myth of Santa Fe*. Lovato's work is more an overview of scholarly literature on the topic than an original addition to it.

Overall, the conception of ethnic identity and culture in this book is limiting and oversimplified. In his cultural characteristics survey, Lovato reduces the essence of Hispanic identity to a series of keywords—"religion," "food," "family bonds," and the like. Early on, Lovato reminds us of the

diversity of “Hispanic” culture in the region—from those whose families have lived in the region for centuries, to newly arrived Latin American immigrants. Yet in the analysis that follows, he rarely makes any of these distinctions, instead speaking of “Hispanic culture” as a unified entity. Lovato refers to Hispanic culture in the region as “a complex mixture of tradition and invention” (56). Yet as a tremendous amount of research has shown, the distinction between invention and tradition is a false one. *All* tradition is invention, and all culture is constantly in flux. Finally, Lovato often discusses the importance of symbols and rituals to Hispanic culture, yet he rarely goes into any depth as to what these symbols actually mean to people, or the ambiguous ways in which different individuals or groups might interpret the same symbol.

The author’s main original contribution to the discussion about Santa Fe, tourism, and identity is with his personal interviews carried out with local residents, artists, event organizers, and politicians. While the interviews with these various prominent figures in town are often illuminating, too often Lovato lets them stand without offering much in the way of interpretation or discussion. The interviews are segregated, with a brief paraphrased account (interspersed with direct quotes) of each interview related in its own section. While this does give a sense of the overall context and flow of each interview, it also forces the reader to draw his or her own conclusions about their broader significance and gives these sections a scattershot feel. Some sort of summing-up section at the end of each of the interview discussions would draw together the disparate threads of the individual interviews into a more coherent whole.

While I was intrigued by the subject, I was left at the end wanting much more depth. The brief length of *Santa Fe Hispanic Identity* and sometimes superficial treatment of the topics at hand make it most suitable as an introduction to the complex topics involved rather than a substantive new contribution to the literature on ethnic identity, place, and tourism.

Reference Cited

- Wilson, C. 1997. *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a modern regional tradition*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

The Birth of City Planning in the United States

1840-1917

by Jon A. Peterson

Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2003
xxi+431pp. Preface, Illustrations, Appendix, Notes, Index
\$59.95 (cloth), ISBN 0-8018-7210-3

**Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Carlos Nunes Silva,
University of Lisbon**

In author Jon Peterson's own words, the main purpose of his book, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840-1917*, is to "clarify the legacy of city planning by constructing an analytical narrative of its origin" (xviii). As suggested by the title, the book explores and discusses the birth of "city planning," defined as a comprehensive vision for the future of the city, a facet that distinguishes this concept and practice from earlier attempts to plan the city in the United States, marked until then by piecemeal and fragmented initiatives. For Peterson, urban planning is the set of ideas, principles, and methods used during centuries to shape and control city development, and "city planning" is just one episode in that long history. Peterson situates the birth of city planning in 1902 with the McMillan Plan for Washington, DC, and the end of its formative years in 1917, when the creation of the American City Planning Institute was proposed as a technical body to discuss "the science of city planning" (319), open only to experts in the field. The following decades saw the city-planning ideal to be applied with up and downs, gradually questioned and finally replaced in the last part of the 20th century by more fragmented forms of planning, as part of wider changes in society and in planning theory, similarly to what happened in other countries of the developed world.

As Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., mentioned in his essay on the historical roots of city planning, quoted by Peterson (12), this process developed like a river composed by a number of streams of different origin, which included public street planting, water supply, sewerage and park system design, among other aspects. These aspects, with the exception of street opening, developed in response to the rise of large and highly centralized urban centers after 1820, a process that became known as "Great City Urbanism." In fact, as Peterson mentions (13), before the 1820s cities constituted a small part of the American population and places with 8,000 or more inhabitants represented only around four percent of the population. For such an urban pattern, piecemeal expansion was enough. Therefore, there was no need for large-scale urban planning, or "grand plan," with

the exception of Manhattan Island in 1807, and even less for a comprehensive approach similar to the one proposed by “city planning.” 32.9 percent of the population lived in urban areas in 1900, and 38 cities reached more than 100,000 inhabitants. By contrast, in 1820 none of that size existed (14). It was in this context that city planning appeared and developed in order to deal with the new and complex phenomenon of the “great city,” replacing the piecemeal and incremental type of regulation and action that dominated urban management until then in the United States, with the exception of water supply and waste removal which by then already required large-scale works. All this experience accumulated since the 1820s constitutes the basis on which city planning was built in the Progressive Era. The author considers also other indirect influences in the definition of city planning, including utopian thinking, an influence that was not as strong as in some countries in Europe. Peterson gives us a detailed account of this complex process with examples taken from different parts of the United States.

The book is organized in five parts plus an introductory chapter and an epilogue. In the first part, “Antecedents of City Planning (Chapters Two and Three), the author discusses earlier processes that led to the development of city planning during the Progressive Era, a process associated with the rise of great cities and the need to find solutions for the urban problems of that time. The three previous streams of thought considered by Peterson to have been most influential were sanitary reform, landscape values, and civic art, a process that I consider to be similar to what happened in most countries in Europe. The first stream, sanitary reform, had to do with planning for health (1840–1890), partially influenced by the experience of Great Britain, where industrialization and urbanization commenced first. Landscape values influenced the construction of city parks, in most cases as a response to the rise of congestion in big cities, an influence where Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr., the founder of the American landscape architecture profession, emerges as the main figure. The third influence, civic art (1890–1900), made its appearance, in Peterson’s opinion, before the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 but it was this event that gave Americans a reference of what an ideal city could be. But, as the author says, “how to apply it to real cities was another question altogether. In 1893, no one knew the answer” (57). It was the city planning movement that would answer this question for the first time in the United States.

In the second part, “The Birth of an Ideal” (Chapters Four through Eight), Peterson explores the birth of comprehensive city planning as an entirely new concept if compared with previous fragmented approaches. First, the author discusses the first comprehensive city plan (1900–1902)—the McMillan Plan for Washington, DC—dissecting it with extraordinary

detail, including behind-the-scene events and power struggles, the process of its elaboration, which involved Senator James McMillan, Henry Ives Cobb, Glenn Brown, Daniel H. Burnham, among others. In the end this plan became an example of how American cities might be planned. Peterson then goes on to discuss the origins of the “city beautiful” movement that emerged in the late 1890s aiming to upgrade the appearance of cities, a movement that gained rapidly a national dimension. It was in the beginning essentially a popular cultural cause inserted in the wider context of the Progressive Era social and urban reforms. By 1902 hundreds of beautification campaigns proliferated across the country and among its authors the most salient was Charles M. Robinson, whose 1901 book, *The Improvement of Towns and Cities*, is considered by Peterson to be the birth record of the “city beautiful” movement. A parallel ideal to this beautification and aesthetic movement, that of “city planning,” also emerged at about this time (1902-1903). Its emergence is described in great detail by the author in Chapter Six. As Peterson notes, both conceptions merged in Robinson’s 1903 follow-up, *City Made Beautiful*, published in 1903, in which he argues that “in an effort for civic improvement...the first step is to secure a comprehensive plan” (129). It is this special and distinct vision of planning that divides the nineteenth century (piecemeal and special-purpose planning) from early 20th-century planning (single, comprehensive and multi-dimensional planning) in the United States. The following two chapters (Chapters Seven and Eight) provide a detailed analysis of this new planning ideal, the “city beautiful” plan as a comprehensive and all encompassing city plan.

In Part Three, “The Pioneer Planners and Their Plans” (Chapters Nine and Ten), Peterson explores the contributions made by key figures in this emerging professional field and their work in the earlier years: Daniel H. Burnham (182-90), Charles Mulford Robinson (190-98), Harlan Kelsey (200-02), John Nolen (206-10) and Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. (210-13). As happened in Europe, it was a male-dominated professional field in its formative years. In Part Four, “A New Field of Public Endeavor” (Chapters Eleven and Twelve), the author discusses the struggles inside the city planning movement, especially the confrontation between two visions of what “city planning” should be, represented by Benjamin Marsh and Frederick Olmsted, Jr. The result of the confrontation between these two perspectives (priority to housing versus planning as a broader agenda than housing) was the rise of Olmsted as the national spokesman for the American Planning movement. This fact together with the McMillan Plan for Washington constitute what Peterson considers to be the key episodes that mark the birth of city planning in the United States. In Part Five, “The Problem of Workability” (Chapters Thirteen and Fourteen), the author discusses the problems and difficulties faced in putting these ideas in practice and the persistent gap between aspirations and achievements,

which, in my opinion, may be seen as lessons from the past that we should consider when planning our contemporary fragmented cities.

In Chapter Fifteen (319–36), “Epilogue,” Peterson summarizes the achievements of American city planning and discusses the movement’s development beyond its formative years. The author explores this period up until the “New Urbanism” in the late 20th century, dissecting how and why the idea of a holistic and comprehensive planning associated with city planning was gradually replaced by a less ambitious and more fragmented concept of urban planning.

Being a book about the US, its findings nevertheless have important points in common with similar analyses of urban planning history in Europe. This is true either in the more urban and industrialized countries of that time, such as Great Britain, or in those where urbanization and industrialization developed later and less intensively, which in part can be explained by the influence that European urbanism had on the American pioneer planners.

Peterson adopts a theoretical perspective that privileges ideas, actors and events responsible for the birth of city planning in the transition from the nineteenth to the 20th centuries in the United States, instead of a structural approach that would emphasize economic and social structures behind the ideas, actors and events. The author avoided a functionalist reading of planning history, giving, instead, importance to the role ideas and actors can play in social processes. Despite the accent on *agency* rather than on *structure*, ideas and actors are analyzed in the context of wider economic, social and political conditions.

The book has a clear structure, is well written, easy to read and is splendidly illustrated with 110 figures, including reproduction of key plans made by city planning as well as from earlier periods in the history of urban planning in the United States. The information and the depth of detail in the 80 pages of endnotes, organized by chapters, and the fifteen-page index will certainly be useful working instruments for its readers. It would have been better to have additionally a full bibliography list in the end, even knowing that references are mentioned in the endnotes.

In sum, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States* is an excellent piece of research and constitutes a significant contribution to the literature in this field. It is undoubtedly an outstanding work of research about the history of urban planning in the United States and a helpful reference for comparative planning studies across both sides of the Atlantic. It is certainly an essential and valuable reading for graduate and post-graduate students of planning history as well as for scholars and researchers in urban and planning studies.

Mapping and Empire

Soldier-Engineers on the Southwestern Frontier

Edited by Dennis Reinharz and Gerald D. Saxon

Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005

xx+204pp. Maps, Notes, Index

\$34.95 (cloth), ISBN 0-292-70659-6

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Robert Stacy, Leominster, MA

In recent years, the study of surveying and cartography as part of the process of empire has received significant attention. One of the most recent entries is *Mapping and Empire*, a collection of essays based on the First Biennial Virginia Garrett Lectures of the History of Cartography held in October 1998 at University of Texas, Arlington. It joins such excellent company as Mathew Edny's *Mapping an Empire* or D. Graham Burnett's *Masters of All They Surveyed*. Maps, the products of soldier-engineers and part of the imperial tool kit, can be viewed and studied from a number of perspectives. They are artifacts reflecting the level of technical sophistication or can (and sometimes should) be regarded as works of art. They can be seen as the formalization of a symbolic naming and possession-taking process confirming the act of possession or seen simply as tools that provide necessary information about how to reach a place and how to defend it from invaders.

Mapping and Empire gives us some insights into maps as completed objects with a rich background of how they were produced from both an organizational as well as technical viewpoint. One problem with collections is that they often vary in quality or contain individual essays peripheral to the main theme. On this occasion that is not the case. *Mapping and Empire* contains essays of uniformly high quality. Taken together, they give the cartographic history of the southwest and do so while providing a full military, political, and technical context. The book contains an introduction, six essays, and a concluding "Afterthought."

Chapter One, "Spanish Maritime Charting of the Gulf of Mexico and the California Coast," by Michael Mathes, begins the book with the history of shore mapping and its techniques. While the description of the process and its results is interesting, of particular note is that Mathes emphasizes how unlike other nations, Spain kept its cartographic projects a state secret, a policy that was to remain in force throughout the course of the Spanish Empire in the Southwest. Spanish maps, as technically accomplished as any in Europe, were generally unknown because they were treated as state secrets.

The second chapter, "Spanish Military Engineers in the New World Before 1750," by David Buisseret, concentrates on Spanish military engineers

and how they, not surveyors, performed most early mapping in the Southwest. Most of these engineers, incidentally, were not Spanish but Italian. (In the early sixteenth century the Italians had more experience with both building and reducing fortifications than anyone.) This essay discusses the military engineering activities and peripheral efforts that led to the making of maps in places like Panama, Havana, Cartagena as well as Vera Cruz and Mexico City. Buisseret also tells us how the functional and organizational roles of engineers in the Spanish army changed as they became more professional.

Dennis Reinharz, in Chapter Three, "Spanish Military Mapping of the Northern Borderlands after 1750," covers Spain's efforts to administer, safeguard, and protect its borders. Specifically Reinharz describes the surveying and mapmaking expeditions that were part of that effort. He notes the "essentially reactive" nature of the Spanish in relation to exploration by others (first the French, later the Americans). Also, and this is an important point, the northern frontier was essentially zonal and did not have a hard border. This looseness and consequent permeability was due to neglect coupled with a serious lack of resources. At the conclusion of the Seven Years War in 1763, however, increased exploration and mapping by the Spanish improved the effectiveness and reach of, colonial administration. Thus, we see how mapmaking as an imperial activity not only creates artifacts of imperial activity but a tool that improves the effectiveness of the imperial machinery.

Ralph E. Ehrenberg's "US Military Mapping of the American Southwest during the Nineteenth Century," is the longest, and in proportion to its subject, the most detailed essay in the book. It describes the efforts of the Corps of Topographical Engineers of the US Army in the southwest before, during, and after the Mexican War. Never numbering more than 36 officers, the Topogs, as they were called, were very much an elite organization that not only surveyed boundaries and potential railroad routes but were significantly involved in many aspects of western exploration. This essay was my favorite although there are a number of minor errors. For instance, George B. McClellan ran for President in 1864, not in 1861.

If Chapter Four is a history of the United States Topographical Engineers in general, Chapter Five, "Henry Washington Benham: A US Army Engineer's View of the US-Mexican War," by Gerald D. Saxon, describes the work of one engineer in particular. Henry Benham, a member of the Corps of Engineers, not the Topogs, nonetheless performed many map making activities during and after the Mexican War.

Following the Mexican War, the boundary was established by national boundary commissions, working together from 1849 to 1855. Chapter Six, "Trabajos Desconocidos, Ingenieros Olvidados: Unknown Works and Forgotten Engineers of the Mexican Boundary Commission" tells the

difficult history of that body. Although it comprised a group of skilled, diligent engineers, the Commission labored through substantial handicaps. Because of the instability of Mexican politics, there were actually four commissions existing in a sequential order with incomplete continuity that performed the work. Further, there were problems with their equipment. Although the Commission ordered and paid for the best equipment available in Europe, what they received was poorly made. The essay not only brings to light the story of an organization that has not received its due, but also tells us how the work of fixing boundaries was accomplished, itself something that is not well known.

Chapter Seven is “Soldier-Engineers in the Geographical Understanding of the Southwestern Frontier: An Afterthought” which briefly summarizes the book and is its weakest part.

An excellent attribute of this book is that while it is a specialist’s book, it grounds everything in a wider military, political, and technical context that shows extensive mastery of the subject. This strength is true for all of the essays. Further, as should be the case with a book on maps, there are many excellent illustrations, including twelve color plates. I would highly recommend this book to anyone interested in the history of the Southwest, cartography or the processes and tools of empire.

Patriotism, Peace, and Vietnam

A Memoir

by Peggy Hanna

Springfield, OH: Left to Write, 2003
ix+115pp. Bibliography, Appendix
\$11.95 (paper), ISBN 0-9741865-0-3

and

The Price of Freedom

Americans at War

by The Smithsonian Institution

Seattle, WA: Marquand Books, 2005
96pp. Illustrations, Maps
\$16.95 (paper), ISBN 0-9744202-3-9

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Jenny Thompson, Evanston, IL 60202

The act of interpreting war often produces conflict. Whenever war is represented, there is bound to be disagreement over questions of historical

interpretation, accuracy, and meaning. At the present time, representations of war are perhaps even more provocative, given the United States' current involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan. But no matter one's opinion or judgment of the contemporary landscape of war, war continues to fascinate people. From movies and books to games and exhibits, war—however controversial—has the power to transfix an audience.

Two recent books that explore the subject of war offer insight into war's impact on American culture. Although these books are vastly different in intent, scope, and style, when taken together they create a portrait of the nature and meaning of the American war experience that is deeply conflicted. Peggy Hanna's memoir, *Patriotism, Peace, and Vietnam*, is a personal account of one woman's involvement in the peace movement during the Vietnam War; the Smithsonian Institution's exhibition catalogue, *The Price of Freedom: Americans at War*, documents wars and conflicts through American history, from colonial times to the present day.

Hanna's memoir provides a fascinating look at one woman's transformation from someone who never dared to question authority into an outspoken peace activist. A wife and mother of five children, living in Springfield, Ohio, Hanna had grown up in Chicago and describes herself as a person who grounded herself "by latching onto the authority of the church and society" (13). But in the larger context of the widespread social transformations of the 1960s, manifest in the civil rights and women's movements and changing Catholic church, Hanna found herself slowly but steadily questioning the very sources of authority she had never before had reason to doubt. As she began what she calls her "slow evolution" into a peace activist, Hanna documents how difficult such a change was for a woman whose world was defined by her family and church. "I would never have dreamed of questioning government policy," Hanna says of herself prior to her awakening (1-2). And indeed, Hanna's memoir carefully traces the details of her transformation to provide a clear picture of just how difficult it was during the late 1960s for a middle class woman to challenge authority as well as to buck mainstream opinion and join, as Hanna did, a peace group and engage in a variety of activities dedicated to bringing an end to the war in Vietnam.

Hanna recounts her journey into the world of peace activism and documents her range of experiences, from taking part in vigils and demonstrations, publishing newsletters, and ultimately traveling to Washington, DC and later to Paris to observe the peace talks. While nothing that Hanna did at the time was particularly dramatic—that is, she engaged in non-violent, thoughtful avenues of activism—what her memoir underscores is the ordeal faced by someone who chose to engage in even the most basic of free-speech exercises during the Vietnam War. Throughout her memoir, Hanna recalls times when she was ostracized, verbally attacked, chided, and even obstructed in her activities. (At one point, a call-in radio show

host dubbed her “Hanoi Hanna.”) These instances provide quite startling reminders of just how divisive the subject of war was in the United States in the late 1960s and early 1970s. And Hanna does a remarkable job in assessing the nature of that divisiveness and its effect on the lives of those individuals who stood against the war. “Peace people,” Hanna states, “paid a price for standing up against the war” (107).

Hanna’s memoir is a welcome addition to the literature surrounding war. It takes on the stereotype of the anti-war protester as a marginal or even violent figure, and reminds us, as Hanna states, that peace activists represent a “broad spectrum of beliefs” (111). It also reminds us just how conflicted the issue of war can be. Hanna’s statement that “Public sentiment came to believe the war wrong or immoral or unwinnable, and at the same time resented antiwar demonstrators as unpatriotic” (33–34) underscores war’s complicated effects, not only on the fields of battle, but on the home front as well.

In contrast to Hanna’s memoir is the Smithsonian Institution’s *The Price of Freedom: Americans at War*. The book is designed to accompany a permanent 18,200-square-foot exhibition at the Museum of American History, Behring Center, in Washington DC, which opened in November 2004. Despite the catalogue’s lavish illustrations, it is no doubt a pale comparison to the three-dimensional and interactive displays that make up the exhibition. However, the book does provide insight into the exhibition’s perspective and underlying themes. In his foreword to the catalogue, Brent D. Glass, Director of the National Museum of American History, Behring Center, writes: “To understand American history, we must understand the American Dream, the values, ideals, and traditions that are woven through the story of America. Freedom, peace, and security are fundamental parts of the American Dream. In many respects, our military history reflects our commitment to these ideals” (4).

Such a statement reveals the exhibition’s intent to provide a sweeping national narrative concerning the war experience of the United States, to link that narrative to historical events and the objects on display, and to provide a connection between the story of war and American ideals.

The book approaches this task chronologically, and is divided into six sections including, “Colonial Conflict and the Road to Independence,” “Western Expansion,” “The Civil War,” “The World Wars,” “The Cold War,” and “New American Roles.” Each section features illustrations such as paintings, maps, photographs, and images of the artifacts on display in the exhibition, including an English flintlock pistol given to George Washington during the French and Indian War, Union and Confederate caps, a US M2A1 flamethrower used in World War II, and General Colin Powell’s battle dress uniform from Operation Desert Storm. Brief sections of text offer basic descriptions of each war or conflict, while other sections

highlight specific stories related to the wars, such as “Civil War Photography” or “The Vietnam Veterans Memorial.”

Providing a comprehensive history of America at war is undoubtedly a mammoth and complicated task. And the curators clearly seek to structure a narrative that acknowledges diversity, by highlighting contributions made by, for instance, women and African Americans, as well as sensitivity, by describing the processes of “Indian removal” (24). However, the text all too often erases the human element from the very subject of war itself. Thus, phrases such as “wars erupted” (7), the United States “acquired territories” (21), and the Vietnam War “spilled over into Laos and Cambodia” (80) read much like a high-school history text where complex events and human actions are watered down or made nearly innocuous through the use of the passive voice. Added to this distancing effect of the text’s language are some surprising omissions: Nowhere is the relocation of Japanese Americans during World War II mentioned; debates over and opposition to war are not explored; costs associated with war, both economic and human, are not examined to any real degree; and certain—some might argue more controversial—conflicts such as those in Grenada, Panama, and Somalia are absent. More recent events and conflicts, such as the attacks of September 11, 2001 as well as “Operation Iraqi Freedom” are, however, included in the exhibition.

The inclusion of such recent events as these is interesting, given the fact that the war in Iraq is not, technically, history; but its presence in the exhibition reveals the attempt to make a connection between history and national ideals, as suggested in the book’s foreword. Indeed, throughout the book, the wars themselves appear remote, abstract, and in some cases, such as with World War II, the Cold War, and the First Gulf War, noble and unifying. And ironically, conflict and controversy within the United States over the question of war—two ingredients so central to war itself—are all but invisible. Instead, a rather seamless narrative of a nation ultimately, and even proudly, built through war emerges; and war thus appears inevitable and even natural.

When taken together, Hanna’s memoir and the Smithsonian catalogue offer readers insight into the current, conflicted nature over the interpretation of war in the United States. And together, they present an image of war that is anything but simplistic. On one hand, Hanna’s memoir offers a highly personal account of a single war’s impact on one woman’s life, and on the other, the Smithsonian catalogue presents a story of war’s capacity to shape a nation. One might argue that both stories are, in effect, “truthful,” and that neither provides a complete portrait of the American war experience. But in Hanna’s clear and very human prose, one encounters a sense of a war’s real and profound effect on a real life. Meanwhile, the Smithsonian’s exhibition catalogue downplays the human element of war

in favor of presenting a bright, shining story. The question of which story will most transfix an audience is perhaps yet to be answered as the United States struggles between representing its own history of war and fighting a war.

Twelve Millennia

Archaeology of the Upper Mississippi River Valley

by James L. Theler and Robert F. Boszhart

Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2003

xiv+254 pp. Appendices, Illustrations, Bibliographic References, Index

\$27.95 (Paper) ISBN 0-87745-847-2

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Jeff Wanser, Hiram College

I love regional syntheses. Whether in archaeology, history, geography, or any other field where place is an important aspect of the phenomena under study, generalists like me find them indispensable. However, creating such a work is no easy task, involving the mastering of a sizable literature, focusing on the most important research, organizing it all in some useful fashion, and aiming at a specific audience. Credit must be given to the authors of this work for showing such initiative. Unfortunately, the results are a bit disappointing all around.

The focus of the volume is the prehistoric archaeology of the Upper Mississippi Valley, more specifically, the Driftless Area, a region straddling parts of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and Illinois, and extending along the valley from Red Wing to Dubuque. When necessary, the authors extend discussion in all directions as larger scale phenomena are in play. This region is marked by more rugged terrain than surrounding areas, and contains a high diversity of natural resources. Archaeologically the region is noted for the Effigy Mounds National Monument, as well as significant amounts of prehistoric rock art. It was a center for the prehistoric Oneota culture, and the historic residence of the Ho-Chunk, Ioway, Kickapoo, and other Native American groups. After several introductory chapters outlining the concepts and methods of archaeology and the past and present environment of the region, the remainder of the book is organized chronologically. Beginning with the Paleoindian period, ca. 12,000 years ago, and extending through the Archaic and Woodland traditions, the authors end their narrative with the early historic period, focusing on French and American interactions with Native peoples. Appendices outline the kinds of animal remains found in various excavations, rock art found in the region, and a list of sites and museums to visit. Specific chapters discuss the transitions from one prehistoric tradition to another, particularly the

change in lifestyles from hunting and gathering to settled agriculture, and the influence of more distant social manifestations to the south, including Hopewell and Mississippian cultures. The authors emphasize throughout their presentation innovations in technology and adaptation to a changing environment, both natural and social. These chapters are generally well-written and informative.

While Theler and Boszhardt never actually state for whom this book is intended, back cover blurbs, a short chapter about what archaeologists do, and an appendix of places to visit are good clues that this work is aimed at the general public and students with an interest in the region. Thus, they begin their presentation with chapters on archaeological methods and concepts and the past environment of the Upper Mississippi Valley for background. These chapters, of necessity, provide a rather cursory overview, and perhaps might have been better presented within the context of the prehistory chapters, if they could not be expanded. Technical terms are inconsistently defined. They do better with archaeological terms, but concepts such as ecotone and biome are used without clarification. The problem continues with a chapter on the history of archaeological research in the region, the sort of material one feels obliged to include, but that most of the audience will not care to read, or will not understand, until they have read the rest of the volume. Either beefing up these introductory sections or dispersing the information to the other chapters might have helped the first fifty pages.

My most serious criticism lies in the area of visual presentation, which may not be entirely the fault of the authors. While there are a great many illustrations, photographs, and maps, the only color appears on the cover. All else is black-and-white, with murky photo reproduction, a lack of variety in map scale, and a few substandard drawings. The spectacular color cover of the Mississippi Valley and some of its islands hints at what could have been a delightful presentation to the eye, but ends up looking very pedestrian. The need to keep costs down is understandable, but the result is likely to hurt sales outside the region. For a contrast, take a look at the outstanding production of Bradley Lepper's (2005) recent *Ohio Archaeology*, a volume to be coveted for its beautiful presentation.

In summary, this is a good book that could have been a great one. There is a great deal of useful information, much of it well written. The appendix on rock art is excellent. However, authors who intend to engage the public's imagination have to compete with television and the Internet, and can no longer remain content with a dull presentation.

Reference Cited

- Lepper, B. 2005. *Ohio Archaeology: An illustrated chronicle of Ohio's ancient American Indian cultures*. Wilmington, OH: Orange Frazer Press.

The Story of Western Architecture

Third Edition

by **Bill Riseboro**

Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001
320pp. Illustrations, Bibliographic References, Index
\$24.95 (paper), ISBN 0-262-68133-1

Reviewed for PAS/APAL by Jeremy White, University of California at Santa Barbara

When *The Story of Western Architecture* first was published in 1979, the editor of the *Architectural Review* called it a survey of “Pevsnerian dimensions.” This was a reference to the esteemed scholar Nikolaus Pevsner, who coined the phrase “a bicycle shed is a building; Lincoln Cathedral is a piece of architecture” (Pevsner 1943, 1). Pevsner had produced one of the most successful metanarratives of architectural history; his *Pioneers of Modern Design* (1936) was a powerfully focused story asserting a single route to a single outcome—Modernism with a capital “M.”

In *The Story of Western Architecture*, Bill Riseboro has written a metanarrative of his own (it is “the” story rather than “a” story). But unlike Pevsner and most other historians treating this vast subject, Riseboro included “hovels” as well as cathedrals. This made it an ambitious survey and worthy of editorial praise, ten chronologically organized chapters describing (primarily) European architecture. It was and remains a wonderfully illustrated book, the author’s own copiously annotated pen and ink drawings presenting the form and organizing armature of key architectural examples. These drawings do more than merely illustrate or decorate, Riseboro uses them to analyze social structure at various moments in European history. His social agenda, to write not merely a book about sticks and stones but to write the architectural story of “self creation,” often seems most tangible in these renderings.

In short, *The Story of Western Architecture* is a bold but imperfect work. Despite an ambition to deepen architectural inquiry, and despite the marvelous tool of analytical drawing, Riseboro remains theoretically conservative. Ultimately this book is a lopsided account that maintains an art historical devotion to the architect and his client, thus operating on a plane removed from class encounter. Treating the reader to far more cathedrals than bicycle sheds, Riseboro’s traditional bias precludes a more substantial social critique of architectural production. The 2001 edition is the third to come out—a mark of the book’s success—but the two subsequent editions have changed hardly at all despite a disciplinary shift in architectural history towards a broader more “vernacular” approach to the study of the built environment (Upton

1999). Destabilizing the art-historical model, this new approach has re-centered historical inquiry on the complex negotiations between capitalists, government agencies, architects and their consultants, and occupants. Risebero's social agenda is certainly consistent with this movement, yet he has done nothing to tap into its secondary literature. His bibliography now includes several works of social history, including works by Eric Hobsbawm, yet none from vernacularists or even environmental historians, the sorts of work that might help realize Risebero's ambitions.. Risebero has not remained idle, however. He extended the concluding chapter in the 1997 edition to incorporate recent buildings, and he stretched the start of the story back to the Neolithic past. He re-fashioned the introduction as well, now explaining that his was a book with two "stories", one of architectural "progress" the other "the growth of class-society" (7).

The book is largely an urban story situating architectural production in a social and economic milieu, yet this grounding seems more vital in the narrative's first five chapters than in the last five. Despite quoting Karl Marx twice in the first page of the book, this attempt to embrace a wider analysis—to infuse the chronicle of architecture with a Marxian critique of capitalism—was timely, but failed from inconsistent development and poorly chosen examples. Risebero's newest edition does nothing to alter this problem, merely extending the concluding chapter (again) to incorporate new projects selected to maintain focus on the great buildings artistically considered, the kind one finds in magazines such as *Progressive Architecture*, *Architectural Record*, and *Architectural Review*. By selecting buildings on the basis of artistic merit rather than as case studies that allow for analysis of the system that produced them, the author's attempt to integrate social critique into the larger story of architectural transformation remains a timid endeavor. Even his study of the industrial revolution and the housing crisis of the nineteenth and 20th centuries (Chapters Nine and Ten) devolve into a history of Modernist architecture and the architect's agenda. Risebero's two stories (a history of social change and a history of aesthetics and technical innovation), come off as two themes that overlap but do not always meaningfully inform each other. The result is that architectural production and the socio-economic organization of society gradually part ways, the first major split coming in Chapter Four.

Deeming the gothic cathedral a pinnacle of architectural achievement and the twelfth century "the greatest of centuries," Chapter Four begins with an excellent discussion of the agrarian feudal landscape. Risebero points out that "architectural ability" did not necessarily ensure "social progress," explaining that most people in the feudal landscape lived in "primitive huts" (74). The wealth that produced the socio-economic environment of gothic achievement was the product of eleventh century expansion and conquest, the impetus of the first crusade and the crack-

ing open of trade beyond Asia Minor. Risebero's drawings meanwhile delve into the social milieu, illustrated flow charts efficiently depict the relationship between serf, freemen, gildman, bishop, knights, and others, and break-down the gothic cathedral into constituent architectural parts as well as trades. Risebero also situates the gothic cathedral in the context of the medieval city, a place where peasants became serfs and a haven from baronial influence. This is where the book begins to edge away from the vernacular landscape, exclusively focusing on great works. The lower strata of society seemingly relinquish what little influence on the built environment they may have had in the first few chapters.

Risebero dubs urban Europe "an open society," a naïve interpretation of the medieval city's check on feudal influence and a rather nostalgic appreciation of the Church's role in urban society. In the author's estimation, the gothic cathedral was a "perfect expression of the dialectical tension between two worlds: between religious faith and analytical reason, between the serene, closed monastic society of the old order and the dynamic expansionism of the new" (84). The cathedral thus epitomizes for Risebero the achievement of western design, an assessment driven by a modernist pathos for structural and functional purity. Risebero asserts that "the rib-vaulting at Durham Cathedral, clearly demonstrating the lines of stress, gave the interior a tense, lively appearance and presaged the great gothic interiors of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries" (67). Since the publication of the first edition, the structural role of the rib-vault has been challenged by more recent scholarship, none of which has found its way into the two revised editions (Mark 1982). Rather, his esteem for gothic expression is consistent with a rationalist critique of architectural form developed in the nineteenth century by French theorist and preservationist Viollet le Duc, now a foundational component of the modernist's worldview.

Risebero's presentation of modernism predictably reinforces this bias for structural and functional purity, observing the development of postmodernism as a decline into superficialities and surface articulations, and rarely directing the reader beyond the architect's artistic ambitions. He glosses over the Museum of Modern Art in San Francisco, for instance, describing it as a "composition of powerful postmodernist forms in brick and stone," asserting that "cultural buildings best define the cultural identity of a city" (7). Risebero's Marxian critique wanes here, a mention of investment and international capital notwithstanding. Given the premise of Risebero's book—to write the story of class society—his superficial treatment of this museum is baffling. Risebero makes no mention, for example, of the contentious thirty-year struggle that culminated in the construction of that museum, a struggle that involved the mass evictions of thousands of residents and the reconfiguration of several blocks of the downtown landscape (Hartman 1984). Residents organized during the struggle to halt the bulldozers, outlasting more than one mayor and two redevelopment

corporations, and thwarting the city's attempt to build a concrete fortress of hotels and parking garages centered around a multi-block convention center originally designed by Kenzo Tange. Mario Botta's Museum of Modern Art thus represents more than a postmodern approach to form; it embodies a compromise between capitalists and local residents, perhaps not a victory for the latter, but certainly a missed opportunity for Risebero.

The project to build the convention center surrounded by hotels and parking lots ultimately proved an irresistible force, but local protest and negotiation—that immovable object—significantly altered its form and program. Court action and local political negotiation managed to submerge the bulk of the convention center underground. Vulnerable but not at the mercy of capital, the “commoner” was instrumental in shaping urban space. The centerpiece of the completed redevelopment project was now a park instead of a concrete hulk, encircled by museums (such as Botta's SFMOMA) and a performing arts center sandwiched between parking garages and hotels.

Risebero's account is a *fait accompli*. He includes only Botta and the architect's artistic sensibility, excising all other issues—and people—from the “story.” For Risebero, architectural production is the monopoly of the architect and his client, a naïve and dated art historical interpretation hopelessly simplifying the complexity of the built environment. This rather traditional analytic prejudice against all but the so called “designers” of buildings has little chance to provide a critique of the sort Risebero presumably sets out to make.

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Contributor Biographies

John H. Barnhill is a retired federal civil servant and unaffiliated historian specializing in 20th-century immigrants and their interactions with old, established communities. He is currently working on a history of one small farm town annexed in the 1980s by a major city in Texas and transformed into a multicultural suburban environment.

Marshall Joseph Becker, a Research Fellow in Anthropology at The University of Pennsylvania, specializes in culture contact and culture change, particularly in northeastern North America. At present he is organizing 35 years of collected data relating to wampum to better understand the origins and varied uses of this specific commodity. How these native shell beads were used by individual cultures is the focus of research. His book on palisaded fortifications in the New World is due out soon, and a volume on the archaeology of magic is in review.

Trevor J. Blank is a graduate of Indiana University's Folklore Institute, where he earned his Master's degree in 2007. An ardent supporter of material culture studies and historic preservation, he currently serves as the webmaster for the Pioneer America Society.

Alan Chan graduated with a Bachelor's of Arts in Sociology from Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada, before working for a food supplement manufacturer in San Francisco bay area for many years. After having earned a Master's of Arts in Cross Cultural Ministry and Master of Theology studies in Luther Seminary, Saint Paul, Minnesota, he served in two separate congregations, first in San Francisco and then in Las Vegas. Currently he is a seminarian at Lutheran Theological Seminary in Hong Kong.

Robert C. Chidester is a student in the Doctoral Program in Anthropology and History at the University of Michigan and co-director of the Hampden Community Archaeology Project in Baltimore, Maryland. His research interests include historical archaeology, working-class studies and community-based public scholarship.

Mark J. Crowley is a PhD student and Associate Lecturer at Cardiff University, Wales, United Kingdom. He is a specialist in British Political History in the 20th century, especially the political and social history of the Second World War. He has publications in the *Encyclopedia of World History* (New York: Golson Books, 2007) and the *Encyclopedia of Popular Protest Movements in World History* (New York: Facts on File, 2007)

Twyla Dell is the author of *Motivating Employees to Give Their Best* (Menlo Park, California, 1988), *Motivating for Results* (Menlo Park, CA: Crisp Publications, 1993, revised edition), *Call of the Rainbow Warrior, An Environmental Fable* (Overland Park, KS: Foresight Institute Press 1990), and *The Corporate Environmental Leader* (Menlo Park, CA: Crisp Publications, 1995). She graduated from Antioch University New England in Keene, New Hampshire, in May 2008. Her thesis, about energy history, is entitled “Flame, Furnace, Fuel: Creating Kansas City in the Nineteenth Century.”

Kelly Denzer is an art historian affiliated with the University of St. Thomas in St. Paul, Minnesota. Her research focus is American and European art of the nineteenth and early 20th centuries.

Steven L. Driever is a Professor of Geography and Director of the Urban Studies Program at the University of Missouri-Kansas City. His research focuses on the history of the city and urban planning, Latino communities in the Middle West, the historical geography of Spain and Latin America, and literary geography.

J. Brooks Flippen is Professor of History at Southeastern Oklahoma State University. He is the author of two books on modern environmental politics.

Peter J. Gloviczki is a 2006 graduate of St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota. He majored in Political Science and Journalistic Ethics. In Fall 2006, he will begin the MSc in Politics and Communication at the London School of Economics. His research interests include Comparative Democratization and Media Ethics.

Alejandro Gomez-del-Moral is a graduate student in History at the University of Georgia, specializing in the history of modern Spain and the nineteenth- and 20th-century Caribbean. His primary areas of interest include the rise of liberalism, nationalism, modernism and Catalanism in “fin de siglo” Spain, and the career of the Cuban Negro Militia in Spanish East Florida, 1812-1821.

Jennifer Guiliano specializes in the intersections of culture, sport history, and racial/ethnic hybridity at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in the Department of History. She is currently completing her dissertation, “Native Americans on the Field: Sports Mascots and the Consolidation of an American Empire, 1920-2005,” under the direction of Dr. Dave Roediger and Dr. Adrian Burgos.

William M. Hunter is a principal investigator for Heberling Associates, Inc., a cultural resource management firm in Alexandria, Pennsylvania. His interests include the production of landscape, environmental transfor-

mation and geographic history. Hunter also teaches geography at Juniata College in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania.

Sara Beth Keough graduated with her PhD in Geography from the University of Tennessee in 2007. Her dissertation takes a multi-scalar approach to studying the interactions between local phenomena and global processes in relation to Canada's media policy. Currently she is Assistant Professor of Geography at Saginaw Valley State University, and co-edits *Material Culture: Journal of the Pioneer America Society*.

Charles C. Kolb is Senior Program Officer for the National Endowment of the Humanities. He has authored over 350 publications on topics including ceramic analyses, archaeological method and theory, ethnohistory, paleodemography, cartography, and marine shell. He is the co-organizer and chairman of an annual symposium on ceramic ecology held at the American Anthropological Association annual meeting (1985-present), edits a monograph series on ceramics, is an abstractor for technical journals, and serves as associate or regional editor for three technical publications.

Michael A. Lange received his PhD in folklore from the University of Wisconsin-Madison, after receiving MAs in anthropology and Scandinavian studies from the same institution. He has previously worked as an archaeologist, practiced cultural resource management for several companies, and taught archaeology at the Center for American Archeology in Kampsville, Illinois.

Kirin J. Makker, is a Lecturer at Smith College and a PhD student in Regional Planning at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst. Trained as an architect, she teaches interdisciplinary courses in architectural design, landscape studies and the built environment. Her research focuses on "Main Street USA" as a culturally and physically fabricated landscape.

Deeksha Nagar holds a PhD in Folklore from Indiana University Bloomington. Originally from Lucknow, India, her academic interests include material culture, anthropology of food, folklore, education and public folklore. She is currently editing an anthology of the ritual stories of India.

John Holmes McDowell, folklorist, has studied the vernacular arts of the Americas, especially the traditional verbal forms. He served twice as chair of the Folklore Department (now the Department of Folklore and Ethnomusicology) at Indiana University, and is currently the department's liaison to the Folklore Archives.

Allen G. Noble is Distinguished Professor Emeritus of Geography and Planning at the University of Akron, and is a former Executive Director of the Pioneer America Society.

Scott C. Roper is Assistant Professor of Geography and Coordinator of both the Geography and Environmental Studies programs at Castleton State College in Vermont.

Stephanie Abbot Roper teaches history, humanities, and geography at Rivier College, Daniel Webster College, and Nashua Community College in Nashua, New Hampshire. She is co-author of *Citizen Soldiers: New Hampshire's Lafayette Artillery, 1804-2004* (Portsmouth, NH: Peter E. Randall, Publisher, 2004).

Steven M. Schnell is an Assistant Professor of Geography at Kutztown University of Pennsylvania. His research focuses on community, identity, and ethnicity as they relate to place.

Keith A. Sculle, a historian with the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency, Springfield, Illinois, has focused in recent work on picture postcards, booklets, and brochures for insights into his research interests, historic landscapes and historic preservation. He has co-authored five books on the American roadside for automobile travelers.

Carlos Nunes Silva is Professor Auxiliar in the Department of Geography at the University of Lisbon, Portugal. His research concerns local government, urban planning, urban and metropolitan governance and planning ethics.

Robert Stacy is an independent scholar who has taught history and comparative literature. His research and writing has recently focused on military history, including the US Corps of Topographical Engineers in the Civil War.

Jenny Thompson has an MA and PhD in American Studies. She has taught American Studies and history courses at the University of Maryland and Roosevelt University in Chicago. She is the author of *War Games: Inside the World of Twentieth-Century War Reenactors* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2004).

Jeff Wanser is a librarian at Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio. He is also an adjunct faculty member in the Department of Sociology/Anthropology, where he teaches anthropology and archaeology courses.

Jeremy White is an architectural historian specializing in American architecture and urbanism. He earned a PhD in Architecture from the University of California, Berkeley in 2005, and is a lecturer in architecture history at the University of California, Santa Barbara, as well as cultural studies at the Brooks Institute of Photography. His dissertation is a study of the 1932 Olympic Games in Los Angeles.

Attention, Presenters.

We invite all PAS:APAL presenters at the 2008 meeting in Baton Rouge to submit their paper to *PAST* (Volume 32, 2009), and ALL of the Society's members to consider submitting a short photo essay for the "On the Road" feature. Although it is not peer-reviewed, *PAST* nevertheless is an important record of research that is presented at the annual meeting of the Pioneer America Society, the Association for the Preservation of Artifacts and Landscapes.



Guidelines

Deadline for Submissions: Friday, January 16, 2009

Eligibility: The research papers published in this issue of *PAST* must have been delivered at the October, 2008 meeting of the Pioneer America Society. "On the Road" photo essays only need to have been authored or co-authored by a PAS:APAL member.

Length: Papers should be between approximately 1400 and 3000 words (about 6 to 12 pages, double spaced with one-inch margins), exclusive of illustrations or captions. Photo essays may not exceed ten photographs and should contain enough information to make clear the meanings and information the author wishes to convey through those photographs.

Format: Manuscripts should be submitted as a Word document (ASCII and Rich Text Format [.rtf] are acceptable if necessary), either (1) emailed as an attachment to the editor, or (2) saved to a CD or to a 3½-inch floppy disk and mailed, along with one hard copy of the manuscript, to the editor at the address below. Manuscripts should be double-spaced. Filenames should consist of the first author's last name (e.g., John Smith and Jane Doe's paper should be saved as "smith.doc.")

Illustrations: Illustrations should be submitted as scanned or digital electronic documents in jpeg (.jpg or .jpeg) format, in high resolution (1060x840). Illustration files should be submitted as individual documents, and file names should include all or part of your last name and the illustration number (e.g., for the second illustration in a paper written by Jane Doe and John Smith, an appropriate filename might be "doefig2.jpg"). Please submit captions on a separate sheet and number captions accordingly. If you are unable to submit electronic copies of your illustrations, please contact the editor for other instructions.

Contributor's Biography: Please submit a brief biographical statement of up to 50 words on a separate sheet.

continued...

Citations and References:

★ *Scientific notation* is the preferred citation style. For a paraphrased statement simply put author and year (Jones 1991). “A direct quote should be set off in quotation marks with page numbers supplied” (Jones 1991, 56). If needed, reviewers should use endnotes rather than footnotes.

★ *Page numbers* should be supplied for all quoted passages. Please use the following standard: “...does not really answer the question” (235–36); or “...if he had thought of it” (xv). (Note that the punctuation goes after the citation, and the page number is separated from the period by one space.)

★ *Include a reference section* after the conclusion of your paper.

For articles:

Ward, A. E. 1980. “Navajo Graves: An archaeological reflection of ethnographic reality.” *Ethnohistoric Report Series*, No. 2. Albuquerque, NM: Center for Anthropological Studies.

For books:

Jordan, T. G. 1982. *Texas Graveyards: A cultural legacy*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

For chapters that appear as part of an edited collection:

Edwards, J. 2002. “Vernacular Vision: The gallery of our Africanized architectural landscape.” In J. Hankins and S. Maklansky, eds., *Raised to the Trade: Creole building arts of New Orleans*. New Orleans: New Orleans Museum of Art, 61–95.

For interviews:

Jones, W. 1994. Interview by author. Geneva, NY, September 4.

For web sites:

“Recent News.” n.d. Pioneer America Society. <http://www.pioneera-merica.org>, last accessed 10 January 2007. (In this notation, “n.d.” refers to a lack of date given; “n.d.” should be used for books, articles, and chapters without known dates.)

For other examples:

Please consult recent issues of *PAST* (beginning with volume 31 [2008]) or the 15th edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style* as needed.

Authors should proofread their text carefully prior to submitting it to the editor. Please direct all questions to the Editor: Scott Roper, Editor, PAST, Castleton State College, Leavenworth Hall, 6 Alumni Drive, Castleton, VT 0573, Phone: 802-468-1270, Fax: 802-468-6045, Email: scott.roper@castleton.edu.

Pioneer America Society: Association for the Preservation of Artifacts and Landscapes Annual Meetings

1968

Falls Church, Virginia

1969

Washington, District of
Columbia

1970

Berkeley Springs, West
Virginia

1971

Oxford, Maryland

1972

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1973

Charlottesville, Virginia

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1977

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1979

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1981

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1983

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1984

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1985

Edenton, North Carolina

1986

Rochester, New York

1987

Galena, Illinois

1988

Mobile, Alabama

1989

St. Charles, Missouri

1990

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1993

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1994

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1995

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1996

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1997

Dearborn, Michigan

1998

Wilmington, North Carolina

1999

Washington, Pennsylvania

2000

Richmond, Virginia

2001

Bardstown, Kentucky

2002

Springfield, Illinois

2003

Bridgetown, Barbados

2004

Newtown, Pennsylvania

2005

Baton Rouge, Louisiana
(cancelled)

2006

Springfield, Ohio

2007

Hagerstown, Maryland

(compiled by W. Frank Ainsley)

October 16 – 18, 2008

Baton Rouge, Louisiana



Landscapes at Risk

(Joint Conference with Eastern Historical Geography Association)



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